

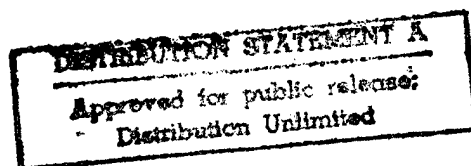
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# East Europe Report



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## AGRICULTURAL WORKFORCE PROFILED, FUTURE TRENDS OUTLINED

Prague MEZINARODNI ZEMEDEL'SKY CASOPIS in Slovak No 2 1986 pp 15-17

[Article by Eng Pavel Buchta, candidate for doctor of science, CPCZ Central Committee Political College, Bratislava, CSSR: "Labor Force Replacement in Czechoslovak Agriculture"]

[Text] The labor force is very important in the overall replacement process. Socialist economies are characterized by expanded replacement. Even the rapid growth of socialist agriculture requires that the labor force be replaced and upgraded at a qualitatively higher level, since labor is the most important factor of production. In contrast to other national economic sectors, the Czechoslovak agricultural labor force is being upgraded through qualitative improvements.

The number of workers, which represents the quantitative aspect of replacement, has been declining. Just as in other socialist countries, in Czechoslovakia as well agriculture has served as a source of labor for other sectors of the economy. Research and development have created conditions such that labor can be replaced gradually with machinery. This results in both a relative and absolute decline in the number of agricultural workers.

Prior to the beginning of industrialization and the formation of socialist cooperatives in 1948, 2,222,000 people were employed in Czechoslovak agriculture. This number has declined steadily to the point where at the time of the most recent census (1 Feb 1984) there were 891,000 workers in this sector. For completeness it should be noted that the adjusted figure for the number of employees in agriculture, which includes hours worked by brigade help, is about 10 percent higher.

In addition to an absolute decline in the number of employees, their numbers have declined in a relative sense as well. In 1948, agricultural workers accounted for 40.5 percent of total Czechoslovak employment. In 1983 this percentage had declined to 12.5 percent. This means that each agricultural employee produces food for increasing numbers of citizens. While in 1936 every agricultural worker fed 4.5 people, at the present time each worker feeds 17.1 people with higher quality food raised on a smaller area of land.

The drawing of excess workers from agriculture has been of great importance for the development of the CSSR. Yet despite this overall positive trend it needs also to be stated that at some times there have been disruptions in the smooth flow of labor force replacement. This has resulted in shortages of agricultural workers, especially in certain areas and for seasonal work.

The replacement of labor machinery has also not always proceeded smoothly. This was one of the causes for the slower than projected growth of agriculture in the Third 5-Year Plan (1961-1965). The exodus of workers from agriculture has been very uneven from year to year. In 1960 for instance, some 115,000 individuals left agriculture. In the Fourth 5-Year Plan (1966-1970) the average annual loss was 15,000 workers, in the Fifth 5-Year Plan 28,000, and in the Sixth 5-Year Plan 18,000 workers. This pace slowed down substantially after 1978. Since then the average annual loss has been only 2,500 people. The number of full-time employees declined by only 7,000 people (0.8 percent) between the census of 1 Feb 1980 and that of 1 Feb 1984. This confirms that expanded labor force replacement has been achieved qualitatively, not quantitatively.

The Long-Term Program for the Development of Agriculture and Other Sectors Involved in Food Production, which was adopted by the 11th CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in 1984, also deals with the future development of the labor force in Czechoslovak agriculture. Part VIII of this document includes the Program of Labor Force Replacement and Stabilization. This program assumes that over the next decade there will be only a small reduction in the number of workers engaged in primary agricultural production. The program of substituting machinery for labor is requiring very high expenditures, estimated at Kcs 500,000-600,000 per employee. On the other hand further improving the efficiency of agricultural production and increasing our level of self-sufficiency in fruits, vegetables, root crops, legumes and in other technical crops will require increased labor inputs.

Upgraded qualifications, taken together with changes in the professional structure, age structure, and work force structure according to sex are all involved in evaluating the qualitative aspects of labor force replacement.

The CSSR has achieved positive results in upgrading the qualifications of blue collar and technico-managerial employees. For senior managers qualifications are defined and evaluated in more broadly defined terms. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Resolution on Personnel Work of 6 Nov 1970 defines this as follows: "Qualifications include political maturity, class consciousness, the requisite level of theoretical knowledge, of life and above all work experience, abilities and practices, general attitude and intellect, moral character and personality traits. The most important of these are political attitude, loyalty to socialism, the Marxist-Leninist policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state, and friendship with the Soviet Union."



Qualifications for blue-collar positions involve mainly training and the obtaining of an apprenticeship certificate in the chosen field. Between 1980-1984 the percentage of fully trained blue-collar employees increased from 23.9 percent to 41.5 percent of the total work force and the percentage of those with higher educations from 2.7 percent to 5.1 percent of the total. The labor force replacement program has the objective of having 60 percent of the blue-collar work force with apprenticeship certificates by 1995.

The Project for Further Improving the Czechoslovak Training and Education System is also being implemented in agricultural training facilities. In recent years content and organizational changes have been made by way of restructuring the apprenticeship system. New fields of study and curricula have been designed. The model of the secondary professional training center is being gradually implemented at more and more locations. Qualifications for the teachers and masters are very strict, and this is reflected in the high level of training that students receive. The best agricultural enterprises have been selected and fulfill the function of training factories.

Throughout the sector administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food a network of professional training centers has been built, each specialized to handle specific fields of study and professions. Most students attend 3-year programs, including the fields of machine operator, husbandman, and mechanic-repairman. The number of graduates from 4-year professional training programs with diploma is increasing. With these programs a student becomes qualified as a plant production operator or a livestock production operator. In addition to these forms of education, workers can obtain an apprenticeship certificate while on the job by passing certain theoretical courses and taking certain exams. Other ways of upgrading qualifications include instruction, in-service training, and ongoing supplementary schooling. Workers are assigned to one of four qualification levels depending on their theoretical training and the length of time they have been employed in their field.

One mass form of agricultural worker education is the targeted, ongoing, and periodic training cycle provided by the television series "School of Progressive Experience". This popular and comprehensible medium is used to interpret current economic tasks in the agricultural policy of the CPCZ. In addition, cooperative and socialist labor schools are organized within agricultural enterprises. These provide professional and economic training and education, training in the law, in health maintenance and safety on the job, fire prevention, etc. To further improve this training and education, especially in conjunction with the practical application of R&D findings, it will be necessary to gradually build centers of progressive experiences and training at individual agricultural facilities.

The qualification level of technico-managerial employees is on the whole satisfactory. In a report to the 11th CPCZ Central Committee Plenum in 1984 comrade Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ central committee secretary, stated in this regard: "Agriculture is among those sectors with the highest percentage of secondary and college trained personnel." Of the total number of

permanently employed technico-managerial employees in Czechoslovak agriculture as of 1984, 69 percent had at least a secondary or full secondary professional education. The number of employees with a college education increased from 13.7 percent in 1980-1984 to 18.1 percent. In contrast the number of technico-managerial employees with only an elementary education decreased from 13.4 percent to 8.2 percent. Overall, Czechoslovak agriculture employs 124,000 people with a secondary education and 23,000 with a college education.

Under the Long-Term Program, by 1995 all technico-managerial employees will be fully qualified for the positions they hold. Approximately 5 percent of total agricultural employment will be people with college educations, and about 20 percent of the agricultural work force will have secondary educations.

Particularly for senior and managerial personnel it is desirable to upgrade and expand their qualifications on an ongoing basis. With this in mind a unified system has been developed of post-graduate studies for people with secondary educations and a program of attestational postgraduate studies for college graduates. There are two levels to this training, the first level being innovational and the second level of a more specialized nature. In addition to these forms an important place in professional and political training is occupied by introductory training for graduates, functional training, supplementary training as well as other targeted course, schooling, stipends, and residential study programs. Recently technico-managerial and blue-collar personnel have been spending a lot of time learning about new agricultural equipment systems for specific crops and efficiency enhancement programs in livestock production.

The training of support personnel is very important to the overall system of political and professional training for senior managers. This training is conducted under individual programs for the comprehensive training of support personnel. The comprehensive nature of the program involves the political and professional growth of the worker. This growth is monitored periodically and systematically.

Increased intensity, efficiency and quality of production along with the practical application of R&D will result in changes in the qualification structure for blue- and technico-managerial employees. The Program of Labor Force replacement projects a 5-7 percent decline in plant production and livestock production work forces by 1995. On the other hand, the number of repairmen, tradesmen, truck drivers, and other specialists will increase. New professions will also be introduced to agriculture and require increased numbers of employees. These include biotechnicians, biotechnologists, operators, power engineers, water managers, and others. Agricultural facilities will be hiring not only increasing numbers of mechanization experts, but also more graduates of programs in areas such as construction, the law, sociology, as well as people trained to make use of automated control systems.

On the qualitative side there will be an improvement in the age structure of the Czechoslovak agricultural work force. The average age will decrease. Whereas in 1975 the average age was 43.7 years, in 1984 it had declined to 41.1 years. This still does not compare favorably with other sectors, where the average age is between 37 and 38 years. The number of working retirees will decline. In 1970, 27 percent of the total work force was of retirement age. This declined to 14.6 percent in 1984, which represents some 130,000 workers. At the same time the number of younger workers has been increasing. In 1980, for instance, 33.8 percent of the work force was under the age of 35. This percentage had increased to 35.3 percent by 1984. This trend in the age structure of the agricultural work force is expected to continue because the number of young people entering agriculture is projected to increase.

The gender structure of Czechoslovak agriculture is also changing. In 1955, 56.2 percent of the agricultural work force was composed by women. By 1970 changes in the types of work required had resulted in a work force that was almost exactly half male and half female. By 1984 women accounted for only 42.1 percent of the agricultural work force.

This downward trend will continue, moreover, even though certain areas of production have all-female work forces.

In addition to its qualitative and quantitative aspects, the labor force replacement program for Czechoslovak agriculture through 1995 devoted attention to the geographical allocation of workers, meeting needs for seasonal work, and questions of economic incentives. A great deal of attention has been paid to improving living and working conditions, improving housing and health care, i.e. to a comprehensive resolution of social questions that are rooted in the 5-year as well as annual plans for personnel, cadre, and social development.

9276/9835

CSO: 2400/332

## FOOD INDUSTRY CALLED WEAK LINK IN AGRICULTURE-FOOD COMPLEX

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jun 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Use Science and Technology in Food Production"]

[Text] The supply of food is a sensitive indicator on the satisfaction scale of the population. It is therefore not by chance that our government pays a considerable, long term attention to the development of the agriculture - food complex, enables investments and subsidizes food with billions of korunas. Thanks to this care, but also thanks to the selfless work of the food industry workers, the food standard in the CSSR is most satisfactory when compared with the rest of the world, primarily as to the quantity of food consumed, including the best quality food.

The next task should be to coordinate food consumption with rational nutrition. In the next 15 years, in the CSR alone for example, frozen fruit products will increase by more than 60 per cent, frozen vegetable production will double, and complete frozen meals production will increase by almost 70 per cent. Compared with the previous 5 -year-plan, food production increased by 7.8 percent between 1980 and 1985. We have succeeded in eliminating certain shortcomings in the distribution flow. The food industry has also made progress in perfecting raw materials assesement, thus improving thus quality. The fact that almost all exceptions from the valid quality standards of food products have disappeared could serve as evidence of this. The saturation of the market with certain kinds of products caused an entirely new situation for manufacturers to cope with. They were learning--and still are learning-- how to win consumers and offer innovations of real interest.

In the 8th 5-year-plan, their objective should be to cope with even more complex economic conditions than the current ones, with planned profit indicators, work productivity, etc. It is obvious that all this cannot be done to the detriment of the consumers.

The evaluation of the results achieved so far is altogether positive. Nevertheless, some specialists are pinpointing the food industry as the weakest link in the complex. "It is most urgent," states the Policy Report of the 17th Congress of the CC CPCZ "to resolve the existing disproportions between the growing agricultural production and the obsolete processing and storage capacities; the solution to the food packaging question has to be accelerated

as well. Inadmissible as well is what we are witnessing during the harvest and processing of sugar beet, the waste of such precious raw material as milk, the high losses caused by faulty potato storage.... it is high time we provided for improvements."

The Congress called for better quality in management. This pertains principally to the general management of many food processing sectors, but also to the administrative departments of agriculture and food production ministries which should ensure conceptual work and mutual cooperation. The advantages of the agriculture and food industry complex have to be applied much more effectively in practice. Great reserve resources are still available here.

The food industry was criticized as well in the Congress discussions. A concrete example was mentioned by comrade Frantisek Tesar, the executive secretary of the CPCZ Kraj Committee of Eastern Bohemia. Thanks to the intensified efforts of the farmers and to good organization and management, a yield of 42 tons of sugar beet per hectare was achieved last year in the Eastern Bohemia Kraj. The part of the sugar production taking place directly in the fields was thus fulfilled by 112 percent. All this effort however was partially reduced, because the sugar refineries did not process the raw material on time and competently. The sugar beet season lasted till the end of January (as a comparison--in Jampol, where our Jampol-Prostejov initiative originated, the sugar beet season finishes at the beginning of December). At the same time, 97,000 tons of sugar beet was transferred to plants in the Central Bohemian Kraj and 17,000 tons had to be used as fodder.

There are thousands of dedicated workers in the food industry. But how do the workers, foremen and technicians accept the above-quoted criticism? Provided they would defend "their" plant, enterprise or sector referring to all kinds of objective reasons, not much could change in the future.

Some might even feel they were doublecrossed. So many Saturday, Sunday and extended shifts were worked, so much initiative exercised. Contrary to other branches of industry, extra shifts are sometimes inevitable in the food industry, due to the seasonal character of the production and the impact of raw material deliveries. Despite of many new processing plants built in the past 5 years, many obsolete plants are still in operation, with all the disadvantages of difficult, poorly qualified and consequently badly paid work. They are often also in a rather disagreeable setting.

Anxious to improve the situation by their own efforts, the food industry enterprises collectives have accepted for 1986 counter proposals representing in profit indicator a plan overrun of 86 million korunas, i.e.; 1.24 percent. "And still to be criticized for all this?" somebody could rightly ask. The present state of affairs in the food industry is being criticized in order to change the conditions primarily in the interest of the employees.

Higher wages can be paid only there where the enterprise is not lagging behind in applying new science and technology, where the technologies are continually modernized and where the character of work is changing. The new, intensified current of workers' initiative has to be directed toward the expedient

introduction of automated production lines, electronics, biotechnology and later even robotization; further development would otherwise be impossible.

Party organizations have the right to control. Together with the ROH (Revolutionary Trade Unions) organizations, they are also entitled to demand that the management be better informed on such matters as, for example, concerning the fulfillment of tasks concerning the production base development, the modernization and reconstruction of food industry enterprises, the development and introduction of new technologies for wasteless production, an increased range of products and improved quality of merchandise.

And why not invite the enterprise or general director to a public member meeting or a trade union get-together and ask him to render accounts of, let us say, the integration fund management? For 1986 the food industry branches have in it altogether over half a billion korunas at their disposal. These are means which could help to achieve progress in the cooperation of the agricultural production and food processing industry. Our aim should be not only the acquisition of better quality raw material, but also progressive joint planning and management, economic incentive, etc.

Up until the year 2000, personal consumption should increase by at least one-half. The conclusions of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ stress above all the necessity of increasing the quotas of consumer goods, especially of consumer durables and electronic products. This, however, neither diminishes the responsibility of the food industry nor the complexity of its tasks.

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CSO: 2400/331

## NEW INCENTIVES FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS

AU011235 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Jul 86 p 1

["Correspondent's report": "As of 1 January--Conditions for Animal Husbandry Improved--New Economic Regulators Published"]

[Text] Yesterday [30 July] in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food the leaders of county governments, interest representation agencies, and large-scale production and animal husbandry enterprises were informed about the economic regulators [szabalyozo] affecting the individual branches of animal husbandry, and which regulators will take effect as of the beginning of next year. State Secretary Miklos Villanyi welcomed those present--including Istvan Szabo, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives' National Council, and Lajos Faluvegi, deputy premier--and said that this very significant government decision was being announced unprecedentedly early so that it could be implemented quickly.

Before the detailed report on the price and financial regulatory system, Minister Jenő Vancsa gave a brief analysis of this year's agricultural output. Because cereals had yielded less than stipulated, he reminded people that already now a whole series of measures are necessary to make up for the losses. The minister spoke in detail about the reasons for modifying the regulators. He explained that, although the measures taken after the 1985 drop in production results in animal husbandry have eased the tensions that had accumulated in the sector over a long period, tensions have still remained. Therefore, the measures now being made public will create price and financial conditions that will serve the implementation of next year's and the 7th 5-year plans for animal husbandry and will provide stimuli for improving quality; and will do so by increasing incentives for producers. According to stipulations, the overall influence of the modified regulators will increase the income of producers by almost 4 billion forints--Jenő Vancsa stressed, and continued with detailed information about the central measures.

Following the minister's speech, Istvan Szabo asked to speak. He explained that the presidium of the Agricultural Cooperatives' National Council agrees with the new regulators, which require great efforts from the administration in the present national economic situation. "The dynamic development that characterized Hungarian agriculture during the past 15 years came to a halt last year. The reasons for this situation were the constantly growing tax

assessments based on the regulation, the extremely dry weather conditions, and an unacceptable management attitude in some farms, large-scale productions, and enterprises." "I am convinced," he said, "that our agriculture can be put back on to its track of success. Other economic changes will play a great role in this, because they suggest that the country will continue to rely on the products of animal husbandry." In concluding, the chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives' National Council referred to a practice that has become popular in some firms, according to which difficulties in animal husbandry have been solved by terminating production rather than improving the standard and profitability of labor.

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CSO: 2500/423



## BRIEFS

GEOLOGY COOPERATION WITH USSR--Dr Manfred Bochmann, GDR Minister of Geology, and Professor Yevgeniy Kozlovskiy, USSR Minister of Geology, signed in Moscow on 23 July a protocol of scientific-technical cooperation for the 1986-90 period. This agreement defines the cooperation between the two countries in the search and exploration of new natural gas deposits in the GDR, the joint improvement of technical equipment and technologies for geological examinations as well as in developing and applying key technologies for work processes in geology and geophysics. In addition the agreement creates the prerequisites or developing direct relations between economic units of the two sectors. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jul 86 p 2 AU] /12913

EAST-WEST ENVIRONMENT SYMPOSIUM--Budapest, 24 Jul (MTI)--An East-West environmental technological symposium is to be held 18-19 September in Vienna, organized by the Zentralsparkasse und Kommerzbank-Wien, one of the most significant financial institutions of Austria. This was announced by the organizers at a press conference held in the Budapest Convention Centre Thursday. The aim of the symposium is to further strengthen relations between the European capitalist and socialist countries, and to contribute to solving the most pressing environment protection problems of Europe. The international conference is scheduled to be attended by representatives of the environment protection authorities and organizations of the CEMA countries, and experts of several West European institutions. /Text/ /Budapest MTI in English 1135 GMT 24 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

TRANSPORT TALKS WITH ROMANIA--Budapest, 25 Jul (MTI)--The standing transport work group of the Hungarian-Romanian joint government commission for economic cooperation held its session in Romania 23-24 July. At the talks Hungarian Deputy Minister of Communications Ervin Nagy, and Alexandru Dobre, Romanian deputy minister of transport and telecommunications, discussed Hungarian-Romanian transport relations, and decided on measures in the interest of further developing relations. Ervin Nagy returned to Budapest Friday. /Text/ /Budapest MTI in English 1503 GMT 25 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

CSO: 2500/399

## YUGOSLAV SOURCE DISCUSSES FOREIGN TRADE, PRODUCTION DATA

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 86 p 42

[Article by G. Ranitovic: "Albania: Quiet Adaptation"]

[Text] Early in the year when the Albanian news media, reporting from a session of the National Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which had under consideration economic performance in the past year and was adopting the plan for the coming period, gave the figure for the growth of industrial output (2.2 percent), it was clear that the planning targets in the economy, which are always overambitious, had not been fulfilled. "...The elderly Albanian economist Priam Bolano refutes the visions of those who believe that the demands for increasing efficiency and productivity lead to economism. As a matter of fact, Bolano asserts, 'the demand for efficiency helps to build socialism.... Most of those who do not want to work and stay home belong to a young generation which was born and has grown up under the new regime....'" writes Paolo Brera, an Italian journalist specializing in the socialist countries.

Foreign trade (according to the figures of the Albanian trading partners) has recorded a drop of about 10 percent since 1981. The projections were for exports to grow 58-60 percent and imports 56-58 percent over the last 5 years. Albania trades with about 50 countries. Officially there are no contacts whatsoever with the superpowers and the racist regime in Pretoria, but through intermediaries it also trades with them--for example, it exports carpets to the United States and imports coke, and it imports cotton from the USSR.

Albania's total trade in 1985 was about \$680 million. Of that, \$80 million was with Yugoslavia, \$350 million with the socialist countries, and \$250 million in both directions with the advanced industrial countries. In 1981 the relationship was different: \$131 million with Yugoslavia, \$300 million with the socialist countries, and \$315 million with the advanced industrial countries.

Production of the principal exports has dropped off considerably. Whereas in 1975 the production of petroleum and petroleum products was 2.5 million tons, in 1981 it was 2 million tons, and in 1985 only 1 million tons. Because of widespread droughts electric power production was also cut in half: 4 billion kwh in 1981 and only 2 billion in 1985. Only the mining of chromium ore is

still being maintained. With its production of about 1 million tons, Albania is the third largest chromium producer in the world and the first in Europe.

Albania has its own production of iron (18 million tons last year) and steel (slightly more than 1 million tons). About 1 million tons of copper ore are mined (but very little is processed), there are also significant reserves of ferronickel ore as well as coal, but it has a low caloric value. Incidentally, much is expected of the "Enver Hoxha" Hydropower Plant in Komani--two 150-MW turbines have already been put into operation, and another two are supposed to go into operation during 1986 and 1987, which is supposed to generate about 2 billion kwh of electric power a year.

The principal reason for the shortfall in industry has been the lack of modern technology and spare parts for what they already have, which consists mainly of outdated equipment made in the Soviet Union and China. The great diversity of imported machines is also noticeable and is causing great difficulties. Barter transactions are the principal form of trade. Conventional credits are not taken, nor are the higher forms of economic cooperation accepted, so that it has become more difficult to import modern equipment. Imports have to be equal to exports, which means that when output drops, exports drop off, imports drop off, and the result is a downward spiral.

Agriculture has failed particularly; it was expected not only to meet domestic needs, but also to contribute significantly to the growth of exports and thereby to a strengthening of the entire economy. However, production has fallen off every year since 1981 when on the basis of a directive of the 8th Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party the cooperatives were nationalized and private garden plots abolished or reduced in the hilly and mountain areas to only 500 m<sup>2</sup>.

Officially, 46 percent of the employed labor force works in agriculture. But according to estimates of international organizations about 60 percent of the employed labor force is working in that sector. It is estimated that only the supply of grain, fruit, and vegetables is sufficient. Meat, powdered milk, butter, cheese...are imported. These products are, of course, strictly rationed. Private produce markets are officially prohibited, but recently a somewhat more tolerant attitude has been noticed toward those who do not respect the ban, and in the cities one can encounter women selling poultry and eggs. The livestock population is minimal, both because people employed in the cooperatives have no motivation and also because pastures have been destroyed.

The leadership has therefore decided to change something, and there is now an experiment taking place to set up mini livestock-raising projects. This involves a combination of private and collective ownership. The press is mainly keeping quiet about this; obviously there is not agreement as yet about the definitive physiognomy of these cooperatives.

Planning authorities have nevertheless envisaged very high growth rates. Exports are supposed to grow 31 percent during this year alone, agricultural output 17 percent, and industrial output 7.3 percent. And where things will go in the future is a question to which the answer is expected from the 9th Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party which is scheduled for 3 November 1986.

## ECONOMIST CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE, SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No. 28, 1986 pp 1, 3

[Article by Frantisek Valenta, director of the Economic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "Economic Theory After the 17th CPCZ Congress;" capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] In his political report to the 27th CPCZ Congress, G. Husak noted one particularly urgent requirement: The social sciences vanguard must analyze the life in our society with greater daring and consistence; it must aim its efforts at developing concepts and recommendations which would serve to accelerate the social and economic developments, to improve the quality of the political system, to streamline the economic mechanism, and make forecasts about [future] developments of the society.

The postulate of greater DARING AND CONTINUITY is particularly applicable to economic theory. Especially, because the acceleration of economic growth and mastering its new quality is the key for developing all areas of the life of our society. These requirements, with respect to the current state of economic theory and its relation to the developmental needs of our national economy, can be divided into three levels.

#### 1. ECONOMIC PRACTICE

The first of these levels of daring and continuity, obviously the most significant one, concerns the relation of economic theory to economic practice and, specifically, to top levels of management. The experiences of the economic theoreticians show that practical economics is a very unforgiving teacher with respect to economic theory. She dislikes giving good grades and, from time to time, she is not hesitant about, graphically speaking, slapping her students across the face. It is necessary to add that at times it is fully deserved. Comrade Vertelar, for example, at his presentation to the activ [a working conference] of personnel involved with ideology on 18 April 1986, justifiably criticized the economic theory in cases where it is reduced to an effort to learn only segmented facts and problems of the economic life instead of concentrating on developing the basis and learning predetermined trends in the economic development.

Such confusion in basic research can only occur, and paradoxically, in context of the above stated justified criticism, in a certain sense, it does occur under the pressure of economic reality. A CLEAR-CUT EXAMPLE OF THIS ERROR IN ECONOMIC THEORY IS ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE CHANGES IN THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM AS THEY WERE BEING IMPLEMENTED SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS AGO. At that time, the economic theory accepted the method of approaching the changes in management from economic practice; but a method which may be quite natural for practical application by economic institutions may not be suitable for an economic theory. It is a method based on the notion that if we take individual elements of the system of planned management, look at them separately, see how they function; and then we reunite these elements, that their recombined emergence will lead to a better system of management. It is no secret that this is how the Set of Measures of 1980 originated. As long as economic theory was following this procedure, it was only duplicating what the implementing economic institutions were doing; with the only difference that they were less skilled at it and did it with less professionalism.

Economic theory does not exist only to duplicate a process of learning which takes place on the basis of extraction of singular experiences from economic practice. IT ONLY MAKES SENSE IF IT MAKES AN EFFORT AT RECOGNIZING THE UNDERLYING SYMPTOMS HIDDEN UNDER SUPERFICIAL PROCESSES AND RELATIONSHIPS AND AT RECOGNIZING PREDETERMINED TRENDS AND, BASED ON THESE SUBSTANTIVE TRENDS, PRACTICALLY USEFUL CONCLUSIONS ARE MADE. A greater daring of economic theory in relation to economic practice by far does not mean just a shift in direction. WE ARE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN A MORE THOROUGH SUBSTANTIVE LEARNING THAN IS POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE ON BASIS OF EXPERIENCES FROM ECONOMIC PRACTICE. The answers, provided on this basis by economic theory are, of course, different from answers arrived at in economic practice. And perhaps it is so because economic theory asks itself questions which are different from economic practice. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS QUITE NATURAL DIFFERENCE IN THE CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY ECONOMIC THEORY [VS ECONOMIC PRACTICE] DEMANDS GREATER DARING. But without a realistic basis for greater daring, which is a better learning of what is substantive and what is predetermined in the development of the socialist economy, the economic theory and practice cannot become partners. ECONOMIC THEORY HAS NO OTHER STRENGTH EXCEPT THE THEORY ITSELF.

## 2. POLITICAL ECONOMICS

The second plane of the requirement for greater daring and continuity in economic theory lies in its relation to its own achieved status, most particularly the state of its nucleus, i.e. the socialist political economy. In his presentation at the activ, comrade Snitil pointed out the basic problems concerning this relationship. TODAY'S SYSTEM OF INFORMATION IN THE SOCIALIST POLITICAL ECONOMICS CAME ABOUT AS A GENERALIZATION OF THE PROCESS OF EXTENSIVE TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY.

Up to this time, the information which was thought to provide the general outline and describe the determinants in the socialist economy failed to tell us about the process of intensive development of economy as part of the building of mature socialism. IT ONLY STATES THE EXCEPTIONS RELATIVE TO THE AREA OF EXTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT.

That is why economic theory is entering upon a stage at which it must show greater daring and continuity, even toward itself. THE THEORY MUST ESTABLISH THE BASE OF POLITICAL ECONOMICS ON A MORE THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE PROCESSES RELATING TO ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST ECONOMY.

### 3. INCREASED DEMAND.

The third level of the requirement for greater daring and continuity concerns the relation of each [individual] economic theorist to himself and toward the current results of his own theoretical work. It occurs to many of us sooner or later that the knowledge we have acquired in the past begins to look, graphically speaking, as only a scaffolding, and that the construction of the building for which we put up the scaffolding is still ahead of us.

It is possible to question whether economic theory is worse or better off than other social sciences, if it asks itself such questions and tasks with such problems to be solved. It is my opinion that it is better off. Because not only do we know that the work which is ahead of us will be much more demanding than it ever was in the past we know also, or at least we are convinced that we know, wherein lies this greater demand. NEW QUALITY OF ECONOMIC GROWTH.

A number of key questions with a primary significance for economic theory as well as for economic practice cuts through all the levels of required daring and continuity. One such subject is the new quality of economic growth.

WE DEFINE THE NEW QUALITY OF ECONOMIC GROWTH--compared to the extant extensive economic development--AS A NEW METHOD OF ACHIEVING GROWTH IN NATIONAL INCOME. A METHOD, WHICH CAUSES THE NATIONAL INCOME TO INCREASE WITHOUT HAVING TO ADD ANY OF THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION. Anything connected with, and all circumstances of developments in our economy bear witness to the fact that an accelerated implementation of this new quality of economic development as a basis for intensification of economy is an extraordinarily urgent practical task. In summary, it provides for the growth of national income on bases of improvements in labor productivity.

That, however, which for an economic practitioner may be a satisfactory answer becomes only a related problem for the theoretical economist. If, as Marxist economists, we want to stay in the ball park of the work theory of value, WE CANNOT CIRCUMVENT THE FACT THAT DURING AN INCREASE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY, THE USEFUL VALUE AND THE [PRODUCT] VALUE [AS SUCH] ARE DEVELOPING DIFFERENTLY, AT TIMES THEY EVEN CONTRADICT EACH OTHER, WE CANNOT AVOID THE FACT THAT INCREASE IN PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR REDUCES THE VALUE OF ARTICLES PRODUCED. That is why a theoretical economist cannot accept as a satisfactory the statement that national income increases because of increase in the productivity of labor as an answer to the question "where lies the new quality of economic growth." IN THE ECONOMIC THEORY WE MUST TAKE IT A STEP FURTHER; WE MUST ASK HOW IS IT POSSIBLE FOR THE NATIONAL INCOME TO GROW WHILE THE LABOR PRODUCTIVITY IS INCREASING AND THE QUANTITY OF LABOR IN THE PRODUCTION PROCESS EITHER STAGNATES OR EVEN GOES DOWN.

Naturally, even this question has an answer, very satisfactory from the viewpoint of economic theory and even more so from the viewpoint of Marxist theory of labor value. But in economic theory we frequently encounter some half-baked

answers which range, as far as their theoretical levels, close to the margin of what we refer to as "vulgar" economics.

IN THE NEW QUALITY, CORRESPONDING TO THE INTENSIVE TYPE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, THE NATIONAL INCOME CAN ONLY INCREASE ON BASIS OF GREATER COMPLEXITY AND CREATIVITY OF HUMAN LABOR. Of course, both the increasing complexity as well as creativity of human labor, must be socially necessary. The connection with the intensification of the scientific and technological revolution is quite obvious.

THE NEW QUALITY OF NATIONAL INCOME GROWTH, in its substantive relations, ceases to be one of many practical questions AND, ON THE CONTRARY, IT BECOMES ONE OF THE FEW KEY QUESTIONS. THE NEW QUALITY OF GROWTH IN NATIONAL INCOME IS THE KEY TO SOLVING THE CRITERIONS OF EFFICIENCY, THE SYSTEM OF INDICATORS, AND ECONOMIC INCENTIVES. IT IS ALSO A KEY TO UNDERSTANDING THE STRUCTURAL SHIFTS WITHIN THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT AS WELL AS STRUCTURAL SHIFTS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES AND SECTORS.

The recognition of the new quality of economic growth is also essential for finding new methods of planned management of the national economy. And that is another key problem passing through all planes of the required greater daring and continuity of economic theory.

#### MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM.

In its contribution to the development of the system of planned management and of the entire economic mechanism, economic theory must avoid such a method which--as noted above--lies only in the verification of functionality of individual elements of management. It is necessary that economic theory starts out by viewing what is common to all external operations in the planned management and what makes them only an expression of their common existence--activity of an individual in a society, at a specific historical moment in the building of developed socialist society.

Without this deeper view of the problems connected with the system of planned management it might seem as though the reproduction process (so called material problems and their solutions) would run in parallel with the management process as though both of these processes were practically independent of each other. HOWEVER, BASICALLY THIS IS A SINGLE PROCESS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIALIST ECONOMY AND OF THE ENTIRE LIFE OF THE SOCIETY WHERE THE MANAGEMENT, OR THE ECONOMIC MECHANISM, REFLECT ITS SUBJECTIVE ELEMENT.

From this we can derive perhaps the most significant conclusion which has been reached by economic theory: THE SHIFT TO INTENSIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS FUNCTIONALLY DEPENDENT ON GIVEN CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM OF PLANNED MANAGEMENT AND ENTIRE ECONOMIC MECHANISM. Without the given changes in the system of management, which anticipate a new quality of economic growth, its sources, its structural results, etc., the turn to the intensive development will not come about.

In the conditions of intensification of economy through given changes in the system of management, we can find the reason for conviction that we can no

longer [afford to] hesitate in implementing these changes. We cannot agree with those views which hold that it is necessary to create a model of improved management system first and that only then can it be implemented in the national economy--such solution would mean delaying the necessary changes in management by another 5, 10 or more years, not to mention that there is no guarantee that it would result in a truly perfect solution. SOMETHING SUBSTANTIVE MUST BE IMPLEMENTED WITHOUT DELAY, DURING THE 8TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN. THIS SUBSTANTIVE [PROGRAM] MUST PERTAIN TO THE MOBILIZATION OF THE SOCIETAL SUBJECT TO A NEW QUALITY OF ACTIVITY.

In documents of the 17th Congress of the CPCZ this requirement is expressed in the emphasis on the necessity of developing the initiative and activity of work teams and individuals. The 17TH CONGRESS SHIFTS, IN THIS SENSE, THE CRUX OF THE MATTER FROM A SIMPLE WORK INITIATIVE IN THE SENSE OF MORE WORK IN THE INTEREST OF PLAN FULFILLMENT, INTO A HIGHER LEVEL OF HUMAN ACTIVITY--CREATIVE INITIATIVE. IN OTHER WORDS, INTO THE MOBILIZATION OF HUMAN FANTASY, INVENTIVENESS, DETERMINATION TO TAKE ACTION; INTO A MOBILIZATION OF HUMAN CAPABILITIES TO SEARCH, FIND, AND IMPLEMENT BETTER PRODUCTION METHODS AND IMPROVEMENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF SOCIETAL ACTIVITY. This also shifts the focal point of human initiative from simple participation with a greater expenditure of labor in fulfillment of a given plan to a creative participation in the plan preparation.

The resources of the new quality of economic growth have a hierarchic structure and can only be implemented through the creative activities of work teams at all levels. This should also lead to a new concept of democratic centralism which is to gain more depth as one of the basic requirements established by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Extension of the democratic centralism according to the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and CPSU requires that the central management be fortified and the independence of the lower ranks be strengthened. From the viewpoint of older literature discussing such questions, such setting of goals could seem incomprehensible. About 25 years ago and for some time afterwards, the principle of democratic centralism was being reduced to a mere relation of centralization versus decentralization. Then it also could have mislead one to think that strengthening centralism would weaken decentralization or the reverse (for example, in a book published by Brus "Models of Socialist Economy.") These outdated viewpoints still persist, especially because the theoretical study of democratic centralism did not make much progress in practical terms and this problem still remains in the background of the attention of economic theory.

Nevertheless, here is a question which must be solved by the economic practice --how to accomplish that both poles of the democratic centralism are fortified and strengthened. It is also an appeal to economic theory, because the practice needs a theory of this process. And it needs a good theory for many other things that are part and parcel of the intensive type of economic development.

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Sciences



## BRIEFS

EIBENSTOCK DRINKING WATER RESERVOIR--The Eibenstock drinking water reservoir in the Aue Kreis, the second biggest in the GDR, was opened on 20 June by Siegfried Lorenz, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt SED bezirk leadership. The drinking water reservoir, which has a capacity of 77 million cubic meters, spreads over an area of 350 hectares and is an important prerequisite for the stable supply of approximately 1 million citizens with drinking water through to the year 2000 and beyond. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Jun 86 p 3] /9604

MACHINE-TOOL MANUFACTURERS' PLANS--At a meeting in Keipzig on 11 July with Minister Rudi Georgi, directors of machine-tool and processing machinery manufacturing enterprises said that the 140,000 workers in this sector were planning maximum performance shifts to mark the international peace day. Minister Georgi announced that an additional number of 220 CAD/CAM [computer-aided design/computer-aided manufacture] stations would be introduced, which would help increase the designers', technologists', and project engineers' labor productivity five-fold. [Summary] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 11 Jul 86] /9604

STRALSUND SIGNS RESEARCH AGREEMENT--The Stralsund People's Shipyard and the Warnemuende Engineers' Institute have concluded a research agreement on the introduction of the computer-aided design and manufacture of ship's foundations. The agreement is aimed at reducing the time from the design to the conclusion of the foundations by 50 percent. At the same time, the costs will be reduced by one-third. Whereas the ship's foundations of various types so far have been designed, manufactured, and assembled separately, the CAD/CAM solution will in the future allow the manufacture of different series according to the conveyor-line principle. The Stralsund People's Shipyard this year will build 33 ships, including a new type in series. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 14 Jul 86] /9604

ZEISS SIGNS COOPERATION AGREEMENT--The Leuna-Merseburg Technical University and the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine today concluded an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation. Among other things, special materials are to be developed in the scope of the agreement which was signed by acting rector Hans Joachim Aust and Director-General Wolfgang Biermann. [Excerpt] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 15 Jul 86] /9604

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH MONGOLIA--In Ulaanbaatar today the GDR and Mongolian People's Republic agreed on their mutual trade and payments for 1987. Among other things, the GDR will supply machinery and equipment for light industry and the food industry as well as electrical engineering and electronic products, scientific equipment and chemical products. Mongolia will export to the GDR mining products, leather clothing, carpets and wool. A protocol on further cooperation in the economic sphere was also signed today. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 2200 GMT 21 Jul 86] /9604

COOPERATION WITH LAOS--The GDR and Laos are to expand their economic cooperation in the 5-year plan period through more intensive trade. The GDR will import substantial quantities of unroasted coffee and wood products. It will deliver machinery, equipment, means of transport and chemical products for the tropical agricultural and forestry industry in Laos. This was agreed today in Berlin by Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Sali Vongkhamsoo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The guest said Laos was glad to have the GDR as a loyal ally, whose support for his country's economic development was very important. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 18 Jul 86] /9604

TANZANIA COOPERATION PLAN--A working program for cooperation between the GDR and Tanzania in the cultural and economic sphere until 1988 has been signed in Dar es Salaam. The Tanzanian Minister of Culture and Sport Said Ali praised the friendly relations and long-standing cooperation between the two countries on this occasion. He thanked the GDR for its solidarity and support. [Text] [East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 18 Jul 86] /9604

CSO: 2300/491

## BRIEFS

RAILWAY WORKS TO EMPLOY CHINESE WORKERS--Budapest, 26 Jul (MTI)--The Raba Railway Carriage and Machine Works, Europe's biggest rear axle producer, plans to employ 350 Chinese guest workers. General Director Ede Horvath told in a radio interview on Saturday that Hungary is to export 12,000 vehicles with Raba engines and running gears, to China in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period. So the Chinese guest workers will work in the engine and running gear plants and assembling trucks. With a 100 million forints investment a special housing estate, with 50 square metres flats, accommodating two workers each, will be constructed by the works. At present some 1,000 Polish guest workers are being employed in Raba and the company plans to employ guest workers from Burgenland Province of Austria. Czechoslovak, Polish, Bulgarian, Cuban and Vietnamese guest workers are being employed in Hungary. /Text/ /Budapest MTI in English 1557 GMT 26 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

FOOD INDUSTRY OUTPUT--Budapest, 24 Jul (MTI)--The Hungarian food industry assured a suitable, balanced supply to the population in the first half of 1986, it was stated at the Thursday session of the Presidium of the Trade Union of Food Industry Workers, in Budapest. Poultry industry particularly increased production in the first half of the year, purchasing some 10 percent more poultry than last year, and marketing 6-7 percent more products domestically, and increasing export. The preserving industry was similarly successful in the period--the tinning industry surpassed output of the corresponding period in 1985 by 30 percent, and the refrigerating industry by 20 percent. The meat industry is slowly pulling out of last year's decline. The first signs of the government measures brought to improve the situation of animal breeding are already apparent--more pigs were procured than in the first 6 months of 1985, however, generally speaking output of the branch still lags behind plan. The corn industry increased export deliveries in the first 6 months. vegetable oil industry increased production, but due to the low world market prices, it could not reach previous export results. Breweries produced more than planned, increasing sales by 13 percent over the corresponding period of 1985. /Text/ /Budapest MTI in English 1450 GMT 25 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

CSO: 2500/399

## PZPR TASK FORCE MULLS WAYS TO BOOST EXPORTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Jun 86 pp 1,2

[Article by (Ch): "Export, Driving Force of the Economy"]

[Text] In what way can exports become the driving force of the economy? An answer to this question has been sought almost from the inception of the socialist economic system in Poland; it would seem that little new can be said in the matter.

Yet, it turned out that the discussion in the PZPR CC at the meeting of the team for export-oriented policy, with the participation of the interested members of the Commission for Economic Reform and Policy, as well as the Foreign Commission of the PZPR CC, was not only filled with clashes and controversy, but also produced an array of specific suggestions. Marian Wozniak who chaired the proceedings could state in summation that regardless of basic conclusions he would be able to transmit to the prime minister an array of specific suggestions concerning extemporaneous regulations.

The meeting evaluated the documents submitted positively, especially those prepared by the ministry of foreign trade, which analyzed the main problems in this field and assessed the operation of export incentives.

It is indeed difficult to evaluate the impact of these regulations, which taken alone seem correct, but should rather be viewed in a wider context of our economic situation. Prof. Zbigniew Soldaczuk referred to these realities stressing the need for persistence in implementing the methods chosen so that there would not be recurring fluctuations and backtracking. Stabilization of regulations as well as of economy is the fundamental condition, which was also noted by Prof. Zbigniew Kamecki. The list of priorities, relief measures and privileges is so extensive that a review should be carried out and a great proportion of these should be eliminated, so that export incentives indeed become efficient. Also, the incentives which are beginning to work, as demonstrated by the case of the ROD [retained hard currency allowance], should be kept in effect; their cancellation undermines trust in the reform mechanisms.

Prof. Marian Ostrowski dwelled on the root causes of the fact that export orientation of the economy still remains a task for the future, despite the

correct statements made and the export promotion programs undertaken over a quarter of a century. There are two basic prerequisites for successful action. One is the stabilization of the economy in the sense of equilibrium, the other -- regulation of the labor market.

Director of the Stalowa Wola iron and steel plant J. Kapuscinski presented a very interesting view from the standpoint of a producer. He also noted the incongruity of arrangements and the high overhead on production cost, including exports, of larger enterprises due to many outlays of, for example, a social welfare nature. However, the lack of constant rules of the game is the main obstacle which impedes long-range undertakings. One cannot embark on a serious undertaking if he is afraid that he will not finish it, for example, due to the various accusations levelled by inspectors who are not always competent.

Thanking the audience for the work done at this last meeting in the current term, Marian Wozniak addressed the significance of the issues in question. What is going on in the sphere of export is, after all, a reflection of sorts of the condition of the economy at large. Actions in export promotion are actions for changes in the structure of our economy, technical progress, improvement in quality and modernity and labor productivity. After all, there will be no exports without an improvement in these basic factors of efficiency which determine our position in the world and our clout in the marketplace.

9761

CSO:2600/566

## FOOD EXPORTS STILL HURT BY AFTERMATH OF EEC BAN

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jun 86 p 1

[Text] Despite the fact that the ban on the import of farm-food articles from Poland to EEC countries was lifted on 1 June, our exporters are still feeling its effects. This also pertains to strawberries.

Last year we exported approximately 26,000 tons of fresh and refrigerated strawberries to the second payments area [capitalist countries]. This year we will do well if we are able to export 15,000 tons because the myth of "contaminated" food from Poland still continues to prevail among buyers in Western Europe.

As the assistant general manager of the foreign trade enterprise HORTEx, Jerzy Mozdzyński, said to a RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter, all strawberries sent for export are subjected to a detailed inspection. The inspection shows that the radiation amounts to 20-120 Bq, while the EEC's very strict standard permits 600 Bq per kilogram. Thus, our strawberries are free of contamination. What, then, causes this fear? Well, behind this are our competitors, particularly the producers of strawberries in two new EEC member-countries, Spain and Portugal, who deliberately spread rumors about contamination.

All told, our exporters estimate our "post-embargo" losses to be at least \$3-4 million, and this pertains only to fresh and refrigerated strawberries. These losses would have been even greater were it not for the fact that there was a decided improvement in the quality of the fruit, which is to the credit of the growers as well as the foreign-trade enterprises.

The export of frozen strawberries appears to look a little better. The fact that they are bought by individual customers and the producers of yogurts, ice creams and processed goods, who are less gullible, plays a large part here. It should also be said that our strawberries are unsurpassed in quality. The fruit coming from other countries does not have such color or aroma. The range of buyers is also larger: In addition to West European countries, we export frozen strawberries to the United States and Canada.

All in all, it is estimated that one-third of the strawberries produced in our country will be exported. This is less than last year, when we sold about 50 percent of our crop. But the situation would be even worse if it were not for

the additional export to the USSR and Czechoslovakia in amounts which exceed the quotas established in trade protocols. This year we already sent approximately 1,400 tons of fresh strawberries to the Soviet Union. They are sent by IL-76 aircraft, which haul 22-24 tons of fruit in each load. A special "aviation bridge" has been established between Moscow and Deblin for this purpose.

In all, we will sell about 5,000 tons of fresh strawberries to the first payments area [socialist countries] this year. Last year we sold 2,500 tons. This partly compensates for losses in the second payments area. Nevertheless, supply on the domestic market exceeds the ability to consume, despite the relatively low prices.

9295

CSO: 2600/567

## RETAIL SECTOR DEVELOPMENT FUND YIELDS FIRST RESULTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jun 86 p 3

[Text] Very shortly, trade enterprises in Koszalin and Gorzow will have new warehouses and Sosnowiec will have a department store. This perhaps would not be worthy of mention were it not for the new type of assistance which has facilitated the completion of these investments, which have been underway for many years. It would probably have taken even longer for these buildings to be built, but money from the new retail sector development fund has made it possible to complete these important, from the standpoint of the interests of purchasers, retail sector facilities.

The retail sector development fund was established by government ordinance late in 1984. It is formed from specific revenues from state trade enterprises (including 80 percent of the payments made by enterprises to the state treasury for depreciation, 20 percent of the difference between the procurement price and the sales price of imported goods, 30 percent of the sums obtained from penalties for poor quality, and voluntary contributions). As planned, the fund should assist in the development of technical facilities for trade, help enterprises in improving the quality of their goods, and assist in the production of the equipment indispensable to the retail sector.

Thus far, a total of slightly over 4 billion zloty has been accumulated in the fund (annual contributions amount to 2.5 billion zloty). Last year approximately 1 billion zloty was allocated out of this sum to help finance the above-mentioned investments.

--Choices had to be made, explained Stanislaw Hildebrand, deputy director of the Organization and Development Department of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services, because 26 billion zloty would have been required to fill all of the requests submitted by enterprises. The fund's board, which advises the minister on how this fund is to be used, probably decided correctly that first priority should be given to those investments which are already underway, do not require large amounts of money for completion, and are most essential from the buyers' viewpoint.

This year consideration is being given to allocating some funds for expansion of the weight-scale factory in Lublin, so that more of this indispensable equipment which is in short supply can be supplied to the retail sector.



Director Hildebrand emphasized that the fund was not established, as some people believe, to relieve the enterprises of the task of expanding their facilities. This is only a form of assistance to those enterprises which need it the most, which want to invest in buildings important to the public and are not able to do this by themselves. It should be mentioned that generally money out of the fund is allocated in the form of long-term loans which the enterprise begins to repay when the facility is finished and begins to earn money.

Who has a real chance of obtaining this assistance? Application has to be made to the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services. This application must be approved by the treasury, the bank, and the provincial governor. This document should contain information not only on the purpose of the investment, but also on the enterprise's financial status. It should also state whether documentation has already been prepared for the planned building, and whether a site, contractor and the necessary materials are available. Only then will assistance from the retail sector development fund be considered.

9295

CSO: 2600/567

## RUMORS ON CLOSURE OF LUBLIN COAL FIELD PROJECT REFUTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by (kmk): "Twenty-five Hundred Tons of Coal Daily from Bogdanka"]

[Text] Recently, various views of our newest coal basin in the Lublin area have been aired; rumors have even been circulating about the closure of this investment project. However, the Planning Commission has allocated more, though modest, funding for sinking new mine shafts in the draft national socio-economic plan for the current five-year period.

Meanwhile, at Bogdanka, the first pilot and production mine, the miners have begun working the second longwall. This will bring about an increase in daily output of coal from 1,000 tons so far to about 2,500 tons. In the mine, they see this moment as overcoming an important threshold in developing the basin.

It should be recalled that the Lublin Coal Basin has been in development for more than 10 years now; that particularly difficult geological and mining conditions have been encountered; that the mines in this basin will be much deeper than those in production so far. For this reason, special equipment which can stand up to high pressure and temperature and hard rock is being prepared at the Polish mining equipment factories especially for the Lublin Coal Basin. The next shaft of Bogdanka is to be commissioned in late 1988. Following that, the mine will produce about 6,000 tons of coal a day.

9761

CSO:2600/566

## SURVEY FINDINGS ON RESOURCE CONSERVATION HABITS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by B. Dr.: "Why We Are Not Thrifty"]

[Text] The OBOP [Center of Public Opinion Research] of the PRTv [Polish Radio and Television] carried out in March of this year a survey on thrift and wastefulness at the national, enterprise and household levels. The respondents, a representative random sample of the total adult population, were asked whether the Poles can be called a nation of thrifty people. Thirty-two percent of those surveyed answered in the positive, and 61 percent in the negative. Thus, the belief that thrift is not a national trait dominates social self-evaluation.

Respondents who expressed the opinion that we are not thrifty were asked to indicate the causes of this state of affairs. References to our culture and hereditary national traits, such as carelessness, wastefulness and lack of husbandry, were by far the most frequent. Occurrence of these traits is considered to be an objective factor of sorts: We are what we are. A small segment of those polled acknowledged that the formation of these traits can be ascribed to numerous wars, crises and a long lasting lack of independence in our history.

Close to one-half of those noting the lack of saving habits among Poles sees the reasons for that in the cultural heritage. Among other reasons quoted, two basic ones may be pointed out: human attitudes and features of the economic system. The causes of the lack of thrift were quite frequently sought in economic shortcomings and poor organization. Inadequate management, bad organization of work in enterprises, and especially the lack of supervision, coordination of activities and incentives to counteract wastefulness were pointed up. Also, references were made to the economic crisis in the country, inflation, small likelihood of amassing adequate resources for desirable purposes through conservation, and the lack of sought-after goods in the market as factors discouraging conservation at the individual level.

The less numerous group of responses tied the lack of conservation awareness with the attitudes of people and mentioned the lack of genuine desire to conserve. Thus, the OBOP survey showed that the lack of conservation habits

is explained primarily by the national heritage, then by the unfavorable features of the economic system and, to a smaller degree, by human attitudes.

Further on, the survey probed the attitude of our society to social property. Two questions were put to the respondents: do our people care about property and, in general, how do they treat those who have no respect for it.

Only 22 percent responded positively to the first question; 72 percent responded negatively. In response to the second question, 59 percent stated that they encounter indifference towards the lack of respect for common property, 17 percent reported leniency and only 19 percent of those surveyed said that the lack of respect for common property causes social condemnation.

Thus, the dominant conviction in public opinion is that lack of respect for common property is widespread and the attitude to the manifestations of these types of behavior is one of indifference or even indulgence.

Wastefulness is perceived by public opinion as an omnipresent phenomenon. Eighty-three percent of those polled believe that they encounter its manifestations often or very often.

In an effort to find out where the populace sees possible sources of savings for the country, the respondents were asked: "It is known that Poland is not a very rich country; where could the greatest savings be made?"

A large share of respondents enumerated what should be saved without indicating how this could be done. The following were mentioned: coal, energy, fuel -- 24 percent, various materials (especially construction) -- 18 percent, recyclable raw materials -- 11 percent, food -- 6 percent.

The remaining responses can be classified depending on whether the sources of savings, in the opinion of those surveyed, should be sought in the organization and management of the economy or in the quality of people's work.

It turns out that opportunities for conservation are much more often seen in the sphere of phenomena not directly associated with the quality of work of particular individuals. In the opinion of respondents, savings could be secured primarily by better economic management countrywide, observing economic laws, as well as better organization of work in enterprises, counteracting wastefulness and ensuring proper utilization of worktime.

Respondents working in socialized enterprises were asked to evaluate the degree of waste of materials, energy, labor and equipment and tools in their enterprise. Compared to observing waste in the country at large (83 percent of the respondents said its manifestations were frequent), registering wastefulness in one's own enterprise turned out to be unquestionably less frequent.

Twenty-one percent of those polled estimated the extent of wasting labor in their enterprise as great, and 39 percent as small. The extent of wasting energy was estimated by 20 percent as great and by 47 percent as small, and of wasting raw and other materials -- respectively 17 and 38 percent.

It is difficult to determine unambiguously the root cause for this appreciable discrepancy between these views and the almost unanimous opinion on the frequent occurrence of waste nationwide. We should recall not only the natural tendency to be less demanding with regard to one's own group, but also the fact that the view of national situation is a relatively stable circulating stereotype and is based on one's own experience only to a small degree.

The same group of respondents employed in the socialized sector was also asked to identify the reasons for wastefulness in their enterprises. Factors associated with the organization and management techniques dominated among the specific answers. Improper management, poor organization of work, lack of incentives to conserve in enterprises, inadequate control and penalties for wastefulness were brought up most frequently.

The issue of conservation in households was also included in the March survey by the OBOP. Throwing away food, use of energy, gas and coal and the attitude to saving money in PKO [General Savings Bank] accounts were included.

The respondents were asked about the frequency of throwing away food. An overwhelming majority, 74 percent, do not do that at all; 24 percent state that they do it occasionally. Bread is thrown away most frequently, followed by expired or spoiled foodstuffs as well as processed pork and deli foods. Over two-thirds of the persons who do throw away food stated that they do so due to the bad quality of products at the time of purchase.

Questions were also asked about the opportunity to save electricity, gas and coal. In the opinion of 31 percent of respondents, the use of electricity could be more sparing whereas less gas (83 percent) and coal (84 percent) than thus far cannot be used. In the opinion of 80 percent of respondents, raising the prices of electricity, gas and coal would not result in more efficient use. The respondents see the use of these energy forms in their households as well-considered and thrifty.

The attitude towards savings at the PKO was a basic question of the survey. Forty-two percent of those polled see a reason to accumulate funds in PKO accounts, 46 percent think that saving does not make sense and 12 percent have no opinion.

Older people over 50, and especially over 60, are more convinced that accumulating funds in accounts is worthwhile. The statement that this is a favorable investment due to the interest, the bonus lottery and revaluation of savings was the main argument for saving at the PKO. Inflation, rising prices and declining value of currency were most often quoted among the arguments against saving in the PKO.

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## POLONIA FIRM POLICY IMPLEMENTATION CRITICIZED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 24, 14 Jun 86 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Loch: "Longing for Consistency"]

[Excerpts] The idea of making use of the capital of Poles living abroad is currently coming up against exactly the same things as many of the undertakings of the past 40 years: boldness of concept, nervous reactions to the first negative responses and the lack of consistency in bringing matters to a conclusion.

On 28 July 1983, changes were made in the law. A year and a half later, on 31 January 1985, it was amended a second time. The first time, the income tax rate was raised by more than half and the compulsory resale to the state of 50 percent of the foreign exchange obtained by companies from exports was introduced (up to now, it was 50 percent of the surplus of exports over imports making it possible to finance indispensable purchases of fabricating materials or machinery from abroad). The possibility of making use of the exemption from income tax for the first 3 years of an enterprise's existence was also made subject to allocating at least one-third of the profits obtained during that time for investments. On the other hand, in January of 1985, the capital ceiling was raised: from that time on, in order to conduct business activity in Poland, it has been necessary to have at least \$100,000 of which half is to be deposited with the state.

#### How Should These Changes Be Assessed?

Undoubtedly, it was necessary to raise the capital ceiling because it eliminated from the Polish market possible swindlers, whose intent was to get rich quickly by means of various schemes and speculation. An example of this is the Damarin firm in Poznan, which has already been closed down, and which rented rooms in a hotel in Naramowice where the firm's own labels were pasted on packages with vegetable and fruit products purchased from state enterprises. In addition, making exemption from taxes dependent on the condition that a portion of the profits be reinvested is intended to eliminate cunning operators who want to get rich quickly during the tax waiting period in order to later close up shop. Undoubtedly, therefore, both of these changes should be assessed positively as protecting the national interest. On the other hand, the

raising of the income tax rate is more controversial. Those interested in setting up businesses were enticed by liberal conditions which subsequently worsened drastically.

It turned out that the introduction of the necessity to resell to the state 50 percent of the foreign exchange obtained from exports was a totally unfortunate move. Prior to this, a firm was able to deduct the foreign exchange input into production from the amount earned from foreign sales. Therefore, to raise the quality it was worthwhile to import raw materials, components and new technology; it was also profitable to maximize exports. Currently, however, the firms are turning away from exports while scrupulously counting how much foreign exchange they must earn in order for the owner to be able to conduct the appropriate transfer of profit for a given year. Moreover, they prefer to substitute traditional production with so-called upgrading processing or simply speaking, with the sale of only cheap Polish labor.

Therefore, the minister of finance has revealed a short-lived, spectacular increase in the inflow of foreign exchange into the treasury, whereas the minister of foreign trade is now worried about the diminishing curve of exports and the Federation of Consumers is complaining about the decreasing quality of products on the domestic market (the lack of the aforementioned foreign exchange input!). In the meantime, consumers continue to be frightened away by prices, which the firms were forced to raise in order to compensate for the losses incurred from the compulsory sale of foreign exchange to the state at--in their assessment--a rate 50 percent lower than the official rate of exchange. Therefore, three main goals, which were placed before foreign firms when the decision was made to agree to their existence in Poland, were jeopardized by this one move. They no longer enrich the Polish consumer market as they did in the beginning; they no longer promote the export of goods manufactured in Poland and do not enrich the production base with modern technologies.

Has anyone as yet conducted a complete balance of the benefits and losses? I doubt it. Just as I doubt whether anyone conducts an extended comparative account when making fiscal decisions...

#### Too Little Imagination

Last year, during a meeting organized by the PRON National Council with the representatives of firms from southern Poland, a journalist asked a manufacturer of sports footwear why he does not make such shoes for children as well. His answer: "Because with a high turnover tax, they would have to cost so much that I would be called a bloodsucker." Ultimately, therefore, this tax did not go into the state coffers, and there are no children's shoes on the market whereas subsidies for state enterprises that manufacture for children flow from the state budget! Would it have not been better to dispense with the turnover tax, collect income tax, have shoes in stores and save on subsidies for state factories? Undoubtedly. The only thing is that the accountants lacked imagination.

Another hindrance to having these firms bring more benefits for the country is the blind, bureaucratic procedure of conducting specific, set types of activity. In accordance with the practices currently in force, a Polonia firm cannot for all practical purposes set in motion the production of something that has not yet been produced. Licenses are granted on the basis of the so-called systematic statement of products; i.e., a register whose idea was to place statistics in order. Meanwhile, the role has been reversed and this register serves to create production types, thus, becoming the basis for granting licenses.

Things are becoming paradoxical: a firm that has permission to manufacture electronic equipment for medical purposes cannot sell only electronic subassembly units, of which it has too many, and cannot manufacture equipment for environmental protection because this already is a different statistical number in the systematic register of products. In such a situation, can we be surprised by the frustration of the people desiring to link up their future to coproduction with Poland? And this is not only in the area of small capital but, above all, larger capital. Many potential partners for participation in joint ventures on the basis of the new legislation on joint ventures are still waiting. It means nothing to them that the authorities keep on declaring their good intentions. What is of importance to them is, above all, everyday practices and these are full of double meanings.

Thus, a state enterprise is about to finalize a very advantageous contract. Everything is going well until it turns out that the bidder is a Polonia firm. The director withdrawn explaining in confidence that he can make excuses for unfavorable production results but never for cooperation with a Polonia firm.

The bias of certain mass media is also obvious. The Dziennik Telewizyjny [TV News] has not as yet broadcast one bit of positive information about these firms. However, a clinical example of this from recent days is the article by Iwona Jurczenko-Dzieniak, who without even paying a visit to the firm to which she devoted a great deal of defamatory criticism and without even looking into bank data or that of the Ministry of Finance which could explain everything, preferred to hint on the front page--as is the style of RZECZYWISTOSCI--about "suspicious foreign interests."

Confusion begins to set in the minds of even the most serious western businessmen. Do they want us in Poland or not?

#### The Latest News

The latest official information supports the declaration made thus far about the necessity of coproduction. At the session of the Government Presidium on 2 June of this year, it was accepted as advisable to further the moderate and selective development of the activity of foreign small manufacturing businesses in Poland accepting as reasonable the projections of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services that by the end of the



current 5-year period, the number of firms currently in operation should increase to 800 whereas turnover is to increase from 160 billion zloty last year to 220 in 1990.

The key objective of the policy toward these firms is to encourage them to bring new technology and use the nation's technical ideas as well as to set in motion production with a significant degree of processing and to increase exports. It is also envisaged that coproduction with the domestic industry through, among other things, the use of the venture method with socialized enterprises will develop. Moreover, the necessity of giving preferential treatment to the needs of health protection, exports and anti-imports [antyimport] was established. There were even proposals to include the Polonia partners more widely into the framework determined by international agreements on cooperation between small and large enterprises. It has been recognized that the basic desired features of enterprises in Poland should be flexibility and energy in reacting to the needs of the Polish economy. Can anything else be desired? Yes!

If we were to compare the declared objectives with the existing specific regulations, it would be obvious to the naked eye that the declarations are in conflict with the solutions employed every day. Therefore, what is needed is either the consistent adaptation of implementational regulations to the adopted strategic goals or a change in these goals. Otherwise, the participants of the upcoming 12th Polonia Economic Forum commencing in the next few days in Poznan will again start to wonder why the highest echelons are giving themselves so much trouble in constructing a program which, it is known in advance, is not always possible to implement.

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## SOCIOPOLITICAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC REFORM STRESSED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 22, 1 Jun 86 p 16

[Article by S.C.: "Greater Dimensions"]

[Text] The word "complex" is making quite a name for itself these days. It is being said that the reform is still not complex and that this is its weakness; that the strategy of development should be approached in a complex manner, otherwise the program of the particular branches may lead us astray, etc. There is a lot of truth in all of these statements. However, I would add to this that the most important issue--during the period of discussions on the outlook of our country in the year 2000--is the combined treatment of the ideological, social and economic problems. Their interrelationship and determining factors are so strong that separate programs can lead to consequences that may turn out to be unrealistic and impossible to implement. After all, the strength of the party program must depend on, among other things, that in finding ways to "make possible that which is necessary," it [the program] should concurrently place all set goals on a strong foundation of reality.

These considerations come to mind when reading many controversial statements, among others, those of Henryk Rot in POLITYKA ("People and Mechanisms") and those of Mieczyslaw Kaminski in IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA ("Problems of the Party's Socioeconomic Strategy"). The first author ponders over the directions of the modernization and transformation of sociopolitical and legal-structural mechanisms whose goal is to strengthen and develop the norms and values of a socialist civilization.

I believe it is worthwhile to look at economic reform within this context as well. Is it only a lever, whose purpose is to serve the improvement of economic efficiency, or perhaps a sociopolitical mechanism with a broader meaning? Undoubtedly, the Ninth Party Congress also treated the reform within this second context. However, to what extent does it [reform] fulfill expectations not only as a lever of better management but also as one which shapes attitudes of commitment, a sense of responsibility, civic criticism and concern for the common good, etc.?

This is a very difficult assessment but, undoubtedly, many pluses can be entered here for the good of the reform. We are beginning to take costs

into consideration more extensively both in terms of production costs and the social costs of particular solutions. We are attempting to better tie in advantages to work input and to understand that it is not always worthwhile to be average. There is still a lot of opposition on this road but a certain step forward has been made.

In discussing the role of the Sejm, H. Rot stresses that more attention should be placed not on increasing legislative activity but on regulating the implementation and improvement of already issued legal acts. We have to agree with this, although a certain consideration comes to mind here. No legal act, which regulates the problems of the economy, is capable of predicting all situations which life brings. In any case, I do not feel that such ambitions are held by the legislators of the law relating to the reform. Their aim was, above all, to define the fundamental principles and logic of changes which are to serve as guidelines for people engaged in economic activity. Unfortunately, another way of thinking is beginning to be more and more generally accepted.

It is my dream that everything that is consistent with the logic of the reform and that has not been prohibited by law be allowed. However, a different approach appears frequently: that everything that is not contained in legal acts is illegal regardless of the stand on the general principles and regulations. Recently, I had a similar experience myself in trying to push through a solution which--as everyone agreed--was consistent with the logic of the economic reform and which was not prohibited by any law or regulation. The answer was: "Yes, that is true but we cannot agree to this because no law or regulation allows it."

I am afraid that with such an attitude, the legislative activity of the Sejm will have to be enormous whereas the effects of the reform--also in this broader sense--small.

In reporting on the program draft plan, M. Kaminski stresses the need for reconciling the principles of social justice with the exigencies of efficiency. Unfortunately, he does not expand on this idea and that is too bad because this reconciliation also requires certain ideological solutions and, at least, discussion on this subject--discussion that is not at all unimportant for very specific and downright "worldly" solutions within the financial and economic sphere. The increase in efficiency, which is to bear effects in the future in the form of a faster rate of increases in the national income and, therefore, the greater satisfaction of the material needs of the public, does not become implemented "for free" but requires the undertaking of specific outlays. In addition, the question of who, to what extent and why, is to currently bear the inevitable costs associated with future progress is not at all unimportant.

Therefore, if I began this interview from a complex point of view, among other things, it is because we shall not come to terms with respect to the future of the economic reform if we do not treat it in a dimension that is much broader than economic.

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## BRIEFS

UNDP AID PACKAGE ACTION--PAP correspondent Edward Dylawski reports from Geneva: the 33rd session of the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] Executive Council reviewed the program of technical assistance to Poland for 1987 through 1991. The council approved the breakdown and mode of using the UNDP grant for our country in the amount of \$3.3 million as proposed by the Polish side. These funds will be used to carry out technical assistance projects in agriculture and food processing, industry and scientific-technical progress, occupational safety and health as well as individual training of Polish specialists in many fields important for the national economy. During two decades of cooperation with the UNDP Poland has received a total of over \$25 million in grants for technical assistance. [Dispatch from Geneva: "UNDP Aid to Poland"] [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jun 86 p 7] 9761

CRETE POWER PLANT CONTRACT--The H. Cegielski Foreign Trade Office and the Western branch of the Swiss firm, Brown-Boveri, signed a contract in Athens on 24 June with the DEI Greek state power enterprise for the construction of a complete diesel power plant in Limoperamia in Crete. Six generating sets will be installed there. The drive motors, which represent the newest generation of diesel motors and are noted for low fuel consumption, will be produced by in the Cegielski Works in Poznan. The power plant design as been contracted to ENERGOPROJEKT in Katowice. The first power from the Lineoperamia power plant will flow within 19 months from the signing of the contract. [By Tadeusz Pasierbinski, Athens correspondent] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jun 86 p 7] 9295

REPORT ON SOVIET IMPORT TRAFFIC--The staff at the Zurawica-Przemysl-Medyka border stations has already accepted over 5 million tons of Soviet raw materials and other commodities this year. From the USSR we received mainly raw materials for our metallurgical industry, including ore, iron headings, open-hearth pig iron and coking coal. Other important items are agricultural machines and equipment, including tractors. In compliance with existing agreements, we are also receiving through this "dry port" nonferrous metals, various types of chemical products and liquid fuels. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Jun 86 p 1] 9295

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## INA' OIL ENTERPRISE EXPLAINS OPERATING PROBLEMS

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 86 pp 32-33

[Article by R. Vuger: "INA-Naftaplin: Diminished Financial Capabilities"]

[Text] INA-Naftaplin planned for this year an output of 3,086,000 tons of petroleum and 2,190 million m<sup>3</sup> of natural gas at a planned price of 70 dinars per kilogram of petroleum and 23 dinars per cubic meter of gas. However, the price of domestic petroleum, which follows the import price, fell first to 56 dinars and then to 47.33 dinars per kilogram, and this has pretty much disrupted all the calculations. It is estimated that gross income will be about one-fourth less than planned, and the blow will be still greater to its ability to generate its own capital and funds for reinvestment. To be sure, the transfer of a portion of the funds from the unchanged retail prices of petroleum products to petroleum explorations moderates this situation, but the people at INA-Naftaplin say: "far less than we lost with the drop in oil prices."

## The Temporary Nature of the Low Prices

The drop in oil prices on the world market turns out not to have been a blessing for everyone in the Yugoslav economy. Along with those whose deep-rooted and widely used "alibi" for the rise of all costs and prices has been shaken, this applies still more to domestic producers of petroleum and gas. And most of all to INA-Naftaplin, which produces about three-fourths of the domestic output of petroleum. The rule that has been adopted of adjusting the domestic price of petroleum to world prices, which was a victory won at the time when they were rising, has remained in effect even now at a time when they are dropping, even though the retail prices of petroleum products dropped out of that system on the way down. The price drop was honored only for consumption of products in the process of reproduction, and the effects of that have yet to be seen.

"I would say, first of all, that we are continuing to maintain that automatic dependence between the domestic price of petroleum and the import price regardless of what is happening to us in the present situation. Especially since that situation cannot last forever: At present low oil prices even the world producers are not generating sufficient capital for further explorations and establishment of reserves; what is more, certain large oil fields are closing down because they are not covering costs. Present reserves are being

depleted, but since there is no substitute for oil on the horizon prices will have to rise so that there can be further explorations," says Eng Mavro Popijac, chairman of the Business Board of RO INA-Naftaplin, estimating at the same time that petroleum prices will probably stabilize in the foreseeable future at \$18-22 per barrel.

At present, he added, oil is mainly selling between \$13 and \$20 per barrel, depending on the source and manner of supply. It is difficult to forecast how long this will last. Nevertheless, it is estimated that on that basis the computed price of domestic petroleum will not rise more than some 10 percent up to the end of this year. To be sure, much here also depends on the rate of exchange. According to certain computations made here to the effect that the exchange rate of the dollar has followed the domestic rate of inflation, the price of domestic petroleum would already be close to that planned price of 70 dinars per kilogram. Of course, this method of raising prices would not bring all the planning proportions back "into place," since it also presupposes a high growth of cost items.

#### Explorations in Spite of the Drop

By all appearances, according to the estimates provided us by Branko Kralj, director of the Planning Department of INA-Naftaplin, this year's gross income will be less than about \$90 billion because of the lower price of oil, and that is slightly more than one-fourth of the planned 350 billion dinars. We must immediately add: INA-Naftaplin also planned outright investments this year amounting to about 100 billion dinars. What has happened to that under the altered conditions? There is a question mark over the projected volume and rate of progress, and therefore also over the future share of domestic petroleum and gas in total consumption.

In order to maintain the present level of output up to the year 1990 approximately one-fifth of present sources need to be replaced by turning reserves already discovered into working fields. Without those investments it is calculated that oil production would drop to some 2.5 million tons. Following this medium-term planning period the drop would be still greater unless investments are made to discover new reserves. As for gas, a doubling of output from deposits already discovered was planned during this medium-term planning period. And that presupposes quite large investments as well as further explorations of potential deposits. During this medium-term period annual drilling was to be about 260,000 meters, about 40 percent of it exploratory and about 60 percent development wells.

Last year about 95 billion dinars were invested in exploratory and development drilling. The growth of that item was also to have followed on the basis of an inflationary growth of costs, but by a change in the pattern of the work as well: exploratory drilling in the Pannonian region already costs about 520,000 dinars per meter, while in the Adriatic it costs even more than 1.4 million dinars. Exploration is going deeper and deeper and is therefore more and more expensive. In previous years the work was "raging," personnel became experienced, business collaboration also improved with domestic producers in providing substitutes for diverse imported equipment for exploration and

production in the oil industry, and it is said that the value of the savings of foreign exchange achieved in this way certainly amount to some \$100 million already.

#### Priorities

Under the altered circumstances there was nothing else to do but to judge what was most important from the standpoint of present and long-term interests, and what had to be postponed. There is no doubt that committing about 47 billion dinars realized on the basis of the difference in the price of domestic petroleum to further explorations and production within the country makes the situation easier, although the "channels" for use are still not altogether clear, nor are the criteria for the disposition of these resources.

In any case the people at INA-Naftaplin give priority to projects which are already under way and where involvement of the World Bank has also been achieved. To be more specific, these are first of all the deep drilling in the regions of the Sava and Drava Rivers (plans call for 15 deep exploratory wells), and then completion and initial production of the Kalinovac gas field and construction of a gas storage facility and exploration of the Dinarids, which extend into four republics and probably a foreign component would be used for services, and naturally also the Adriatic region, where for the present the most certain hopes are being placed on the gas deposits of the Northern Adriatic. About 30 percent of the total value of these projects is being covered with a loan from the World Bank.

What about attempts to obtain "our own oil" by sharing in explorations and production of gas fields in other countries? The first specific fruits of the involvement in Angola provided great encouragement for continuation, and now that there is less profit on the cheaper oil, it is easier to make headway with such transactions. At INA-Naftaplin they have begun to work on the situation in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, India, and indeed even Northern Yemen, and at least two projects are expected from this effort in the very near future. It is a favoring circumstance, we were informed by Bartol Kuvezdic, vice chairman of the INA-Naftaplin Business Board responsible for foreign exchange transactions, that primarily our technical and personnel potential would be committed on those projects (this organization possesses 18 drilling rigs for land explorations and another four have been ordered from the Split Shipyard and are to be completed within 4 years, and then there are also two "jack-up" platforms and one semisubmersible platform for offshore exploration, and so on), so that the diminished financial capabilities ought not to be an insurmountable barrier in that direction. The essential thing is that such projects be "recognized" in the country's balance of payments.

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## DRAWBACKS OF SOCIAL OWNERSHIP, ADVANTAGES OF PROFIT SHARING

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 86 pp 28-29

[Article by Dr Tomislav Nikolic, Novi Sad: "Wrong Ideas About Ownership"; title and headings supplied by editors]

[Text] In light of the fact that the inappropriate treatment of social ownership as nonownership has led our society into crisis and brought about an erosion of the property it pertains to, an ever larger number of our scientists are advocating a reassessment and change of attitude toward social ownership. A different attitude is being proposed not only toward small-scale private ownership, but also toward collective worker ownership of the means of production. The proposal for introduction of worker ownership on the basis of shares would mean giving up the monolithic form of ownership in our country, and in practice we would have mixed forms of property relations.

As a reaction to the proposal for introduction of worker ownership of shares authors are coming forward who feel that this is an "anachronism" and means taking socialism back to capitalism. There have even been ideological charges to the effect that the proposal for introducing worker ownership on the basis of shares of stock under socialism amounts to a counterrevolution, and so on.

Taking Marx's criticism of political economy as our point of departure, in the discussion below we will point out the untenability of the view which alleges that there is a danger if worker ownership on the basis of shares of stock is introduced. It is not true that it constitutes a danger or negation of social ownership. Nor is it true that this signifies a return to capitalism.

In analyzing the structure of ownership relations of our socially owned property Dr Ivan Maksimovic, member of the academy, rightly says that "socially owned resources...are the result of credit relations, they have been borrowed or purchased, and they now must be repaid." (See I. Maksimovic, DUGA, No 316, 5-18 April 1986, p 13.) If it is a question of credit, then whose resources are these? Academician Maksimovic points out that the creditors of our socially owned property are foreign capital and individuals as private owners of their savings account balances.

Let us listen to Dr Maksimovic. "Over the previous decade, during the period 1971-1983, according to certain computations, the depreciation of social



resources, that is, what ought to have maintained their value at at least a level of simple reproduction, has been short about \$15 billion--this is the figure we heard recently. And in 1985 the value of fixed capital barely covered the value of interest payments, which means that the value of our entire stock of socially owned fixed capital barely covered the national debt to the foreign partner!" (Ibid., p 13)

As for the other part of the sources of our socially owned property, i.e., the attitude toward the personal sector, Academician Maksimovic says: "If we add to this the datum that a large portion of socially owned resources is also built up from private savings--30 to 40 percent, then everything indicates that the equity of social ownership is practically nil, that the value has almost evaporated and vanished, and that what enterprises now possess is either the state foreign debt or debt to the private sector, that is, to individuals, which is a rather unconsoling overall picture." (Ibid., p 13)

#### Credits and Ownership

If that is the way matters stand with the equity of our social ownership, then the question is rightly put whether it is better to continue to maintain the credit relation toward the personal sector or whether we should allow a solid portion of that credit relation to be turned into worker ownership of shares of stock. Viewed in economic terms, the facts indicate that stockholding capital has an advantage over the credit relation with respect to the development of socialism, the development of social ownership and self-management. What does that advantage consist of?

First of all, as co-owners of socially owned resources the workers would be motivated to multiply those resources, since through dividends they would participate in division of the profit (or gain), and that is nothing other than a form of appropriation of the workers on the basis of their past labor.

Second, the workers would prevent the political bureaucracy, in a tie-up with the technocracy, from building "monuments" or wrong-headed investment projects. Only then would we get true self-management, that is, management of social capital on economic and self-management principles.

Third, the workers would have an interest in the reproduction of social capital (socially owned property), since their private property (the value of the shares) would depend on the reproduction and efficiency of socialist society as a whole.

Fourth, society would gain in this way in that the enigma would finally be resolved over the vagueness or more accurately indeterminacy of the identity of social ownership. Society would create the conditions so that every entity would be subject to risk and liability in the disposition of socially owned property.

Fifth, the growth of socially owned property in the form of social capital, which in reality would have a mixed form, i.e., a portion of socially owned and a portion of stock capital, would depend directly on the process of

generating domestic capital. A system of economic activity would be abandoned which in practice neglects the process of generating domestic capital and devotes all attention to the foreign debt, i.e., to importing foreign capital.

Sixth, the proposed system for distribution of personal incomes, which has been offered by the LCY Central Committee in the form of two parts of the personal income, would make it possible for the worker ownership of stock to be built up from the second portion of personal incomes, which would represent the process of augmenting socially owned property. For the benefit of the ideologues, for the benefit of all those who shiver at the thought of this proposal, it should be said that the socially owned property, once it has been formed as capital in the form of shares of stock, cannot leave the framework and jurisdiction of society. There can only be changes of the individual owners of the shares, which means that the workers can freely liquidate their private property in the form of past labor, but it would continue to serve the function of reproduction of socially owned capital and development of society's productive forces.

Introduction of social ownership based on worker shares of stock would also require certain changes in the way workers' self-management is organized and conducted. Dr A. Raic has this to say about that: "Introduction of an assembly or delegation (or council) of stockholders into workers' councils in our organizations of associated labor, with the corresponding right to influence the formation of the team of the technostructure (professional management) and business policy (especially the distribution of income and formation of the capital fund, and so on), would require an institutional supplement to the basic organizational form of associated labor." (See Dr A. Raic, "Causes and Consequences of the Statist Reduction of the System of Organizations of Associated Labor to Factory Self-Management," paper delivered at the scientific meeting entitled "The Working Class and the League of Communists Today," Novi Sad, 1986, p 17.)

Some authors judge the proposal made above to be an attack on self-management, and they say that this amounts to abandonment of the commitment that labor is the exclusive basis for appropriation. That is, the critics of worker ownership of stock are bothered about the idea that the co-owner relationship of the workers would result in introduction of appropriation on the basis of property (aside from labor), which according to them is contrary to the 1974 SFRY Constitution and contrary to the essence of socialism.

However, these authors are looking at the issue through ideological spectacles, and they cannot see that the self-management we have had up to now and also the statist (bureaucratic) and technocratic management of social capital, has also been based on ownership of social capital, and has not been based on work. It is a question of personifying the economic functions of social capital, not of whether social capital exists as a social production relation or not.

All these authors harbor the illusion that the essence of social ownership lies in the 1974 SFRY Constitution, rather than in practice, i.e., in real production relations. Their ideological vision of social ownership as nonownership cannot be a scientific argument in the discussion concerning the demand for introducing stock ownership by the workers.

By contrast with these authors, who take up the illusory ideological position that self-management constitutes the basis of society, Marx defines production relations as property relations and that under the conditions of the production of value. These are not merely relations between people, but on the contrary material relations between people, and in the production of commodities they figure as relations between things. The reification of social relations is not related to personal ties between people, but to the commodity form of the production of social wealth, and especially to its most highly developed and at the same time last form--the form of the production of value and surplus value. Aside from what has been said, many authors lose sight of the fact that for Marx direct social ownership, which was proclaimed in our country by the 1974 Constitution, signifies an absence of commodity production, an absence of the division of labor, which also gives rise to the production of commodities. For Marx, that is, direct social ownership signifies communism, i.e., a classless society.

However, many of our Marxists ignore Marx's concept of capital, its nature and essence. Instead of seeing that capital is that social force which brings about particular social relations, their point of departure is the argument that the essential thing is who manages social capital. That is, for them it is not essential that capital exist at all as an alienated production relation. As soon as capital exists, there also exist wage labor as its basis. Wage labor, according to Marx, constitutes the subjective essence of private ownership, which is why social ownership under socialism is still in the form of capital.

Whereas Marx wants the working class to do away with the power of capital as an alienated social force by developing the productive forces, and thereby also to free themselves of the slavery of wage labor, the effort in our country is to reconcile irreconcilable opposites. That is, many people want integration of wage labor and capital, which is also what the Utopian socialists wanted. All these authors and critics of stock ownership by the workers will have to explain to us, first, what capital is, but to do so in the spirit of Marx's criticism of political economy. According to Marx, by contrast with classical political economy, capital does not constitute only embodied labor (least of all a thing), but a social production relation!

That is, Marx interprets capital as an epochal production relation, and it is moreover a pure economic production relation. He has this to say on the point: "Economists do not conceive capital as a relation. They in fact cannot do so and at the same time regard it as a historically transitory and relative, rather than absolute, form of production." (K. Marx, "Theorije o visku vrednosti" [Theories About Surplus Value], Vol 3, Prosveta, Belgrade, 1978, p 211) And not only that. The historical existence of capital as a social relation depends on the existence of the bourgeois mode of production based on capital. "Primitive accumulation," Marx says, "...is only a separation of the conditions for labor as independent forces from labor and the workers. The processes of history represent this separation as a factor of social development. Once capital is here with us, then the maintenance and reproduction of that separation on an ever greater scale develops out of the mode of capitalist production itself until history takes a new turn." (Ibid., p 209)

Marx responds to the question of when that "new turn in history" will take place as follows: "The original unity between the workers and the conditions of their labor (here we leave out the slavery relation in which the worker himself belongs to the objective conditions of labor) has two main forms: the Asian community (spontaneous communism) and small-scale family agriculture (to which the cottage industry is related) in one form or another. Both forms are infantile forms and equally unsuitable for developing labor as social labor and the productive force of social labor. Which gives rise to the necessity of a separation, of a split, of an opposition between labor and property (which we should understand as ownership of the conditions for production). The extreme form of this split, in which the productive forces of social labor develop at the same time most powerfully, is the form of capital. It is only on the material basis which it creates and by means of the revolutions through which the working class and the entire society pass in the process of this creation that the original unity will again be established." (Ibid., p 325)

If the workers are to establish direct social ownership, productive forces must be created which make commodity production superfluous and the division of labor along with it, since it also makes commodity production necessary as an alienated form of society and social relations. On this point Marx says: "With free labor as the basis this is possible only when and if the worker is the owner of his own conditions for production. Free labor develops within capitalist production as social labor. When we talk about the workers becoming the owners of the conditions for production, then, this only means that they belong to the socialized workers and that the workers produce as such, subordinating their own production to themselves as social production. But to want to preserve wage labor and thereby also the basis of capital, like Proudhon, and at the same time to abolish 'troubles' by negating a derived form of capital--that is puerile." (Ibid., p 402)

When will social production be under the control of the producers? According to Marx, only when the division of labor is abolished and the alienation of the conditions of production along with it, i.e., when there is no longer an opposition between wage labor and capital. This is what he says: "The division of labor...would be just as possible if its conditions belonged to the associated workers, and the latter behaved toward the former as what they are /in natura/ [slantlines represent boldface in original] (emphasis T.N.) as toward their own products and the material elements of their own activity." (Ibid., p 210)

And then commodity production--Since socialism does not have the conditions for abolishing commodity production as a precondition for establishment of direct social ownership, the means of production continue to be in value or capital form, and not "the simple material prerequisite of labor," as the theoreticians of social ownership as nonownership assert. Through self-management and cooperative factories socialism must develop the productive forces of capital, and that is the only right road toward communism, i.e., toward the future new society. "From the moment when the bourgeois mode of production and the processes of production and distribution corresponding to it are realized to be historical, there will no longer be an illusion to the effect that these relations should be looked upon as natural laws of production, and prospects

are opened up toward a new society, toward a new economic social formation for which this mode of production represents only a transition." (Ibid., p 330)

As for the position of the workers in the cooperative factories, Marx writes: "Just as a portion of profit is looked upon as interest even when the industrial capitalist is using only his own capital, because this form has a separate mode of existence, so on the basis of the capitalist mode of production even when some worker has his own means of production, they are regarded as capital even when he does not employ other workers. A portion of his own labor which he has realized beyond the measure of what constitutes the ordinary wage figures as the profit which is owed to his capital. And the worker himself is then broken down into different economic types. As his own worker he receives his wage, but as a capitalist he receives his profit." (Ibid., p 325)

As we see, the proposal for introduction of worker ownership in the form of shares of stock under capitalism is based on Marx. We only need to remove the ideological blindness so that things appear as they are and so that we do not repeat ideological illusions about social ownership as nonownership. In the context of stock ownership the worker is divided into two person-functions. "As the possessor of the means of production, he is a capitalist, as a worker he is his own wage worker. He pays himself, then, his wage as a capitalist and derives his profit from his capital, that is, he exploits himself as a wage laborer and in terms of the surplus value of labor he pays himself the tribute which work is required to pay to capital." (K. Marx, "Teoriije o visku vrednosti," Vol 1, Prosveta, Belgrade, 1978, pp 311-312)

By contrast with those authors who would like to portray the demand for introducing worker ownership in the form of stock as an attack on self-management and socialism, we have presented facts which argue exactly the opposite. Introduction of worker ownership of stock signifies a strengthening of self-management, since ownership of stock instills a motivation for raising labor productivity and motivates the workers to reproduce social capital. It creates conditions for the operation of economic coercion, and at the same time it introduces liability and risk for decisions taken.

If there is a danger, then the ownership of stock is a danger to the bureaucracy and to statism. It is high time to put an end to the superiority of politics over the economy. In writing this, we are thinking of the following warning contained in the classics of Marxism. "We truly belong among those who have the least desire for the rule of the bourgeoisie.... But we shout this to the workers...: It is better for you to suffer in a modern bourgeois society which with its industry is creating the material means of establishing the new society which will liberate you all than to go back to an outdated form of society which on the pretext of rescuing your classes will cast the entire nation back into medieval barbarism!" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Montesquieu LVI," in K. Marx and F. Engels, DELA [WORKS], Vol 9, IRP and Prosveta, Belgrade, 1977, p 163)

7045

CSO: 2800/300

## SLOW APPROVAL OF EXIT PERMITS SEEN IMPEDING FOREIGN TRADE

Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 15 Jul 86 p 2

[Text] One of the most important tasks for our enterprises is to ensure sufficient exports to cover import needs for raw material and finished products. That is valid generally, but more specifically it is so for the engineering industry because it provides the major portion of our exports. It is the task of machine builders to offer products to our foreign partners that are highly competitive; it is the responsibility of the economic and other areas to lay the necessary foundations. That means attending to dozens of little problems. We encountered one of these not long ago during our discussions in the concern enterprise TOS Hostivar.

The plant produces machine tools and also exports them to non-socialist countries. These are now of a numerically controlled type which has brought about many changes [in the way of doing business]. In the first place, when a customer purchases such a machine, to replace two or three conventional tools, a 100 percent service is required, which is logical. This equipment is expensive and highly productive, making any defects very costly. A down-time cannot actually be made up any more because such [expensive] machinery cannot be kept in idle reserve [to be used only as a replacement when needed]. The customer requirements for rapid service is, therefore, very strict: 24-48 hours from the time a failure is reported. And such repairs are also being demanded to be performed outside regular working hours. It is the responsibility of the manufacturer to provide such service. Such clauses have now been appearing in the majority of purchase orders. Thus the situation: if we want to sell, we must meet the condition.

So how does the situation appear?

The people at TOS Hostivar summed it up briefly: "Technically it is no problem. A technician is ready at a moment's notice to go make the repair. What we are unable to achieve is to ensure that he can leave the country within the specified time period. And that, even though our technicians have current passports and exit visas."

Presently, the procedures are roughly as follows: Every departure has to be approved by the plant, the VHJ [Economic Production Unit], industrial branch, interior ministry, etc. This routine and inflexible process consumes at least three or four weeks--which our foreign customers are not willing to accept.

Thus, back to what we discussed in the beginning. If the engineering industry has its tasks and it is to fulfill their requirements unfailingly, we have to consider other matters connected with foreign trade as well. This is one of them and, for cases like this, there should be some routine procedure which could maximize the operation of services for our foreign partners. That, too, is necessarily a part of the requirement to be met by those who want to export.

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CSO: 2400/377

## MINOR PARTIES' FUNCTIONS, MEMBERSHIP OUTLINED

East Berlin STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 35 No 4, Apr 86 (signed to press 27 Feb 86) pp 275-287

[Article by Friedel Harder, of the Department of Allied Parties in the SED CC; Prof Dr Rolf Schoenefeld, of the SED CC's "Karl Marx" Party College; and Dr Manfred Zinssler, of the "Wilhelm Pieck" Youth College in Bogensee: "The Role of Parties Allied with the SED in the GDR Political System"]

[Text] Creatively and at the same time true to principle in all phases of the social development of the GDR, the SED has translated into reality the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliance and has, in close cooperation with the other parties and mass organizations in the democratic block and with all of the forces united in the National Front of the GDR, created a firm foundation of moral-political unity of our people. This policy, based on the interests of the working class and dedicated to the well-being of the people, the strengthening of socialism, and the preservation of peace, has shown itself to be the decisive foundation of the political and social alliance, because it is in accordance with the life interests of the citizens of all classes and social strata of the people. In the popular discussion in preparation for the XIth Party Congress of the SED, the political and social alliance, having matured in four decades of successful development, has shown itself to be an important driving force for the general strengthening of socialism. The parties allied with the SED have played an outstanding role in this.

"The time-tested policy of alliances of our party has been very important in the further organization of the developed socialist society in our country.... We are also building on the creative collaboration of the DBD, CDU, LPDP, and NPDP in dealing with the tasks that will confront us into the next millenium." (Footnote 1) (10th Conference of the CC of the SED. In preparation for the XIth Party Congress of the SED. From the speech of Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin 1985, p 11.) The members of these parties make a significant politico-economic and intellectual-cultural contribution to the general strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of its achievements. In all social areas they take part in realizing the policy of the main task and thus in the policy of the SED directed toward the well-being of the entire people. The allied parties are an indispensable and unmistakable element of the political system



of the socialist society in the GDR. Theirs is a significant achievement in the process of developing and perfecting socialist democracy as the main direction in which the socialist state power and the entire political system are developing in close cooperation with the SED, in order to use even more effectively the specific potentialities of the farmers' cooperatives and the intelligentsia, as well as the craftsmen and tradesmen, as the driving force for the strengthening of socialism and for the socialist motivation of the segments of the population closely connected with the parties.

#### Time-tested Partnership for Developing Social Democracy

The alliance of the working class with the class of cooperative farmers and the other social strata is always a question of strategic weight; its actual realization is always of fundamental importance for implementing the historic mission of the working class. The socialist revolution must sweep along the mass of the workers in the fight to overthrow the bourgeoisie and lead them onto the new socialist path. (Footnote 2) (Cf V.I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 29, Berlin 1961, p 42.)

In the present stage, the allied parties combine their faith in the socialist society and hence in the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party with exacting guidelines for further impressing the socialist personality profile on the segments of the population close to them and with a diversity of activities for the economic and political strengthening of the GDR. Great efforts are made to deepen the national awareness, the friendship with the Soviet Union, the internationalist awareness, and the anti-imperialist solidarity. All of this places the allied parties in a position to make their unmistakable contribution to strengthening the workers'-and- farmers'-state within the political system of the socialist society, in the people's representatives, the government agencies, and the National Front. (Footnote 3) (Cf to this entire complex of problems the extensive monograph "Policy of Alliances in Socialism," Berlin 1981, esp. p 18 ff, 147 ff)

The allied parties are important organizational forms for the participation of their members in the preparation, execution, and supervision of governmental and social decisions as the most essential factors in the socialist development of democracy. In the setting of the National Front of the GDR they play an essential role as coformulators of the basic political rights of all citizens of the GDR, having perceived their responsibility as bearers of the mandate for delegates to the people's representatives, through the influence of their members in the local councils and as mayors, and in the regional and district councils and central functions on the level of governmental or ministerial councillors. (Footnote 4 see table on following page)

The preparation of the XIth Party Congress of the SED shows once more that the allied parties regard this event, significant for all citizens, as their own affair. This is reflected in their contributions to the socialist competition and also in the popular campaign, "More beautiful our cities and towns--Take part!" This again makes clear their interest in fully seizing the possibilities of creative participation. Thus, for example, the annual work programs of the basic units of all the allied parties have as their central point concrete, multifarious initiatives and projects that aim at helping the SED

fulfil the tasks of its social strategy. In this way their members are mobilized for an active recognition of their rights and duties as citizens for the strengthening of socialism and the preservation of peace. The initiatives are directed particularly at increasing the productivity of those working in agriculture and in cooperative and private enterprises for the improvement of living conditions and of assistance, service, and repair efforts for the citizens.

#### Long-term Activity to Bring About the Basic Interests Held in Common

The policy of the main task in the unity of economic and social policy, decided upon at the VIIIth Party Congress of the SED, gave the party alliance a new, long-term content. This policy was confirmed as early as the Xth Party Congress of the SED: "Firm and trustful are the relations of our party to the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany (DBD), the Christian-Democratic Union of Germany (CDU), the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD), and the National-Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD). The parties allied with us have a solid place in our society.... Our close collaboration will prove itself in the future and has a long-term prospect." (Footnote 5) (Report of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany at the Xth Party Congress of the SED. Reporter: Erich Honecker, Berlin 1981, p 123.)

With the creation of the developed socialist society, the perception already enunciated by Karl Marx is corroborated every day, that the proletariat, in seizing power, at the same time frees the entire society from exploitation and repression. On the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the social ownership of the means of production, under the leadership of the working class and its party, all the strength of the people is directly interested in the creation of the new society and therefore uses more and more consciously and comprehensively the possibilities of creative participation in

Functions	DBD	CDU	LDPD	NDPD
Delegates, successor candidates, qualified citizens in parliaments and their commissions (People's Chamber: 52 delegates, 14 successor candidates)	23,100	22,686	12,919	10,407
Members of government & ministry councils, district & regional councils, mayors, deputy mayors, city & community councillors	2,100	3,615	2,262	2,132
Members of National Council of National Front of GDR, its presidency & secretariat, chairmen & deputy chairmen, members of other committees, secretariats, administrations, working groups	32,000	44,362	35,743	27,578
Directors of & in nationalized or cooperative concerns. Health & social organizations; cultural institutions	2,100	4,876	1,266	847
Judges, jurors, members of arbitration & conflict commissions	5,000	5,778	4,016	3,566

the leadership of the socialist state and of all social matters. With the further organization of the developed socialist society the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party is enhanced. The rapprochement of the classes and social strata on the basis of the goals and ideals of the working class is thus the fundamental social process.

The process of rapprochement, historically of long duration, takes place in the dialectics of emphasizing the common ground of all classes and social strata, as well as reproducing the progressive social differences between them. This leads to a higher development of the socialist society and to the differentiated usage of the driving forces of society for the creative activity of all the working population. Taking as our point of departure the objective fact that different classes, social strata, and population groups have different life experiences and traditions and therefore differing interests, the present high state of development of the socio-economic, political and ideological foundations of the socialist society offers the possibility of using these different interests as primary driving force in the process of continually bringing about the basic harmony of interests.

Accordingly, existing differences between the classes and social strata are to be encouraged when they contribute productively to the realization of the social strategy of the SED. The complete transition to the lasting intensification in the entire national economy requires that the superiority of socialism be linked with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, and that the creativity of all classes and social strata and of every worker be targeted and developed. Past experience has shown that the more clearly the workers of all classes and social strata are aware of their objective common basic interests and of their equally objective specific interests, the greater are the possibilities of developing their conscious social behavior.

The political activity of the parties allied with the SED is closely connected with the dialectics of the common basic interests of the classes and social strata in socialism, and social-specific interests are connected with the dialectics of social, collective, and personal interests. These parties make their unmistakable contribution because they always represent the specific interests of their members in conformity with the basic interests of society. The policy of the SED and the socialist state to preserve the peace and to pursue the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, to develop socialist democracy, to consolidate the bond of brotherhood with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and to unite in anti-imperialist solidarity coincides with the basic interests of all classes and social strata. For this very reason, the uncompromising realization of the program of the SED enjoys the energetic support of the entire people and is the socio-strategic orientation for the allied parties.

#### Irreplaceable Alliance Contribution to Strengthening the Socialist Society

The further organization of the developed socialist society places qualitatively higher demands on the work of the allied parties under the leadership of the SED in the release of driving forces. Therewith, more and

more, as component of and condition for the realization of social interests taken as a whole, specific interests and needs are articulated, evaluated, and realized.

In the political life of the DBD, CDU, LDPD, and NPDP, a particularly important emphasis in the creative party-political contribution to the alliance crystallizes out more and more forcibly: more perceptibly and unmistakably the parties contribute to helping the alliance partners of the working class to fulfil, responsibly and civic-mindedly, the specific contribution to the alliance that has arisen from its concrete socio-economic position and is irreplaceable. The growing shared responsibility of all alliance partners allows to arise not only common but also specific motivations of the parties for deliberate civic actions of the workers of various social positions and differing ideology or religion. Here the dialectic of two emerging tendencies is significant:

1. As the society continues its organization, the cooperation of all parties, which direct their complex effectiveness, under the direction of the SED, at the main links in the chain of social strategy and at the realization of the basic interests of all classes and social strata, becomes stronger.

2. Within this process the individual, unmistakable contributions and the profile of each of the parties allied with the SED continue to find their expression. The socially differentiated effectiveness of these parties and the taking up by their members of socially specific interests that promote achievement get stronger.

As experience shows, the allied parties can fulfil this specific function because, based on socialist production and power factors and through the policy of the SED for the workers of all classes and social strata, the humane nature of socialism reveals itself more and more clearly and becomes a part of their social experience. In this way increasingly, socialist concepts of value and socially motivated actions are inculcated. In creative collaboration with its alliance partners, the SED insures that a scientifically grounded social and economic strategy will be worked out and leads with historic optimism the initiatives of all classes and social strata toward the implementation of the common interest in preserving peace, raising the material and cultural standards through increasing productivity, and further developing socialist democracy. Within the framework of these shared basic interests the SED deepens the alliance with all classes and social strata and itself works in them as in other elements of the political system. The alliance of the parties represents in this process a very important area.

For the role of the allied parties, from the viewpoint of the dialectic of interests, it is necessary to grasp precisely the objective content of the specifically social interests arising from the socio-economic context of their members and of the population elements close to them. These interests are determining for the specific viewpoint and the concrete access of certain groups of workers to the common basic social interests. In addition: access and view are substantially broken by ideological or religious and political convictions and not negligibly influenced by socially typical modes of thought and behavior, by differing aspects of the socialist way of life, by social

experiences, and by other factors. Taking note of the richness of this complex structure of determinants is the precondition for recognizing how the dialectic of interests develops as driving force in the actual political process, and how at the same time personal motives of social action make their appearance, among other things in order to organize this process politically. The allied parties consciously take up objective, specifically social interests and assist in developing them progressively, i.e., in each case finding such ways and means of realizing them as are consonant with the social goals as a whole and that contribute to satisfying the needs of mankind.

From the broad field of socially differentiated interests there emerge specific functions of the allied parties:

The Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany understands under qualified party work an aggressively conducted political-ideological work oriented toward priorities to equip the members to solve the exacting tasks in continuing to organize the developed socialist society. It strives to make every member even more aware how important his activity is in raising the productivity of the national economy and that his contribution serves to strengthen socialism and thus to preserve the peace. The DBD sees in the personal contribution of every member toward strengthening socialism the most important concern of the party. Decisive motivations for this are deduced from the thirty years of successful development in the countryside, from the life force of the alliance of the working class with the class of the cooperative farmers, as well as from the correctness of the agrarian-political orientation of the SED program. Freeing the farmers from exploitation and repression, ending the political and social strife in the villages, including the farmers in the exercise of political power for the first time in history, eliminating the social uncertainty and existential dread--all these things are presented above all as the result of the ongoing policy of the SED and the creative application of Lenin's plan for cooperatives.

The significant increase in plant and animal production has led to growing prosperity in the farm families. As sources of this prosperity are named the workers'-and-farmers'-state, the cooperative ownership of the means of production, the education of the cooperative farmers, and the proverbial farmers' diligence. In this way the DBD makes clear that the alliance between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers lies in the interest of the society as a whole and corresponds profoundly with the life interests of the cooperative farmers themselves. The party points the way to developing further the capacities and strengths of the class of cooperative farmers, to giving increased attention to the reproduction of the class and of the cooperative ownership, as well as to deepening the cooperative relations between the production of animals and plants.

The LPG have proved themselves to be politico-social communities whose economic potential must be developed even more effectively. The DBD sees an obligation to the alliance to cooperate even more purposefully, particularly in the villages, in improving further the spiritual and cultural conditions for a great increase in national-economic performance and in generally helping the culture and way of life of the developed socialist society in the country find their expression. In so doing, the party draws attention to the

improvement of the work of the village clubs, the partial preparation of the workers' festival and the cultural celebration of socialist agriculture, and the support of all undertakings of the intellectual and cultural life in the country. Suitable efforts are to promote economic thinking, professional pride, and all-round knowledge, as well as festivities, parties, art appreciation, and popular cultural creativity. (Footnote 6) (Cf "Resolution of the XIth Party Congress of the DBD," in: Minutes of the XIth Party Congress of the DBD 1982, Berlin 1982, p 363.)

The Christian-Democratic Union of Germany has as its members Christian citizens from differing spheres of life, churches, and religious communities. Different also are the motivations of their social engagement and the underlying historical experiences. What unites them is the common politically organized activity for peace, democracy, and socialism. Over and beyond all denominations they are joined together by the social consequences of the Christian ethic that obliges Christians to serve their fellow man and commits them to peace, active humanitarianism, and brotherhood.

This is in accordance with basic values of the socialist society and with the maxims of government policy. Animated by this understanding, the CDU respects the individual religious beliefs of its members, furthers their readiness to serve the socialist common weal, and gives every member, in accordance with his individual humanistic motivation, every possibility to shoulder joint responsibility and actively help shape the socialist society. In this the CDU stands in the progressive tradition of Christian thought and action for peace and social progress, and feels itself obligated to all those who have endeavored to realize the gospel of peace and justice in their conflict with the fateful alliance of throne and altar and in the fight against imperialism and fascism. Since socialism, in its struggle for peace, real humanism, and social progress, objectively embodies and fills with new life all progressive traditions, and in so doing makes clear concretely and historically the political and ideological breadth of the popular forces that uphold them, it is possible to develop variegated and differentiated motivations in today's fight for peace, democracy, and socialism.

In the orientation toward high personal achievements at the place of work also, main outlines of the CDU's motivation can be seen. Special motives of the will to perform are rooted in Christian virtues such as diligence and sense of duty, public spirit and thrift. From the Christian ethic the CDU emphasizes the necessary enforcement of a new socialist relationship to nature in people's thinking and action.

One specific side of the ideological effectiveness of the CDU is the work with Christian artists and the culturally creative. Building on the humanistic values of the socialist society, the fruitful climate of trust, the political and spiritual partnership, and the policy of alliances of the SED, the CDU motivates Christian artists to unmistakable contributions to peace, democracy, anti-imperialist solidarity, and socialism. These contributions preserve the rich traditions of the activity of Christian personalities for peace, social justice, and social progress, and are a reflection of the basic values of the Christian ethic such as the love of peace and of one's neighbor, and responsible living and acting, which are at the same time moral values of the social-

ist way of life. (Footnote 7) (Cf the articles of association of the CDU, Berlin 1977.)

The Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany emphasizes that in the community of all democratic elements it has the overall social responsibility. The point of departure of its policy is not special interests but the overall social interests, above all the fight to preserve the peace and to realize the main task.

The LPDP is attentive to socio-psychological particularities and to the persistent differences in the development of awareness of the classes and social strata. It devotes itself primarily to the working population who are active in the fields of handicraft and trade, and to the intelligentsia. What is expected is active efforts on behalf of the policy of peace and of the main task. The way the LPDP sees itself is determined also by its own historical development, which has given the party its identity and which has been connected with an inner process of transforming it from a bourgeois-democratic party into a democratic party working in and for socialism.

Essential political motivations divert the LPDP away from the traditions of nonproletarian democratic forces and movements and petty bourgeois democrats of German history before 1945. Here it is a question of those revolutionary democrats who since the beginning of the previous century have striven for the cause of the people, from the fight against feudalism to the fight against militarism, fascism, and imperialism. But it is also just as much a question of being the successor to the historic deserts of bourgeois-democratic forces and of militant humanists in the democratic cause such as Wilhelm Kuelz, Max Suhrbier, and Johannes Dieckmann. (Footnote 8) (Cf "Articles of Association of the LPDP," in: XIIIth Party Congress of the LPDP, Part I, Berlin 1982, p 146.)

The National-Democratic Party of Germany regards the all-round strengthening of the GDR as the most important goal of its political activity and stresses that the leading role of the working class and its party, as well as the alliance policy, is inseparably tied in with strengthening the GDR. To this end the NPDP lends its social weight. This attitude toward the question of power is the decisive criterion for the allegiance of its members to socialism. This clear profession, which has existed since the founding of the party, is expressed also in the orientation on the further consolidation of the socialist awareness of state and law. It is emphasized that the legal order opens up all areas of action to the forces of socialism and must be defended.

The party sees as the chief content of the ideological work the furthering and securing of the consciousness of the socialist state, in which socialist patriotism and internationalism are united. Crucial points are the education to the fulfilment of civic duties for the overall strengthening and protection of the workers'-and-farmers'-state, to conscious united activity with the working class and its party, as well as to consolidating the solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The NPDP emphasizes that it has always regarded "national" and "democratic," taken together, as elements of historic progress, and so has been able to contribute to overcoming nationalistic, pluralistic, and bourgeois ideas. The party

orients itself on the historical image of the working class and makes its own contribution toward making useful progressive, above all revolutionary-democratic traditions for the development of the socialist national consciousness. (Footnote 9) (Cf "Articles of Association of the NPDP," in: XIth Party Congress of the NPDP, Leipzig 1977, p 457.)

The allied parties base their efforts in the political system on positions that agree in principle, which can be summed up as the recognition of the SED as the leading power of the political system, the commitment to its social strategy and policy, and to its actively contributing to strengthening the socialist state. At the same time, they maintain contact discriminatingly with the interests of their members and the circles close to them. The more successful they are at perfecting their skills at differentiated ideological work, and the more clearly the parties help the alliance partners of the working class to find in the overall basic social interests their own specific interests and particular motivations, the more obvious will be the unmistakable contribution of the parties to developing the potential of the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, the artisans, and the tradespeople for the organization of socialism and the preservation of peace, and the more clearly will the contribution of every party in the political system of the GDR of the 80's be recognized.

#### Close Cooperation for Mastering the Present Stage

The high social esteem that the allied parties enjoy, and the certainty, established in four decades of successful alliance policy of the SED, that this alliance offers a long-range prospect for the success of the SED program, are good signs that the allied parties will do well in helping to formulate the developed socialist society.

The new demands regarding the cooperation of the SED with the allied parties are part of the efforts further to shape the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. Strengthening the leading role of the SED and the increasing social importance of the allied parties are dialectically bound up with one another. On the one hand, the quality of the leading role of the SED, which is in accord with the altered social demands, creates new spheres of activity for the allied parties; on the other, their effect strengthens the leading role of the party of the working class, in that a specific contribution to consolidating the confidence between government and people has been provided. In its capacity as party of the working class and of the entire people, the SED is effective in all social contexts. It organizes the alliance between the working class and the other classes and social strata. This overall social responsibility includes the operations of the allied parties and is the general condition of the alliance policy for the great social role of the allied parties.

With the establishment of the political system of the socialist society in the GDR, new possibilities of formulating the cooperation with the allied parties have come into being as the result of the successful policy of the main task--making real the meaning of socialism. More accurately than before, the potentials can be used that result from the fact that the access of many workers to an understanding of common social interests can be essentially broken away



from ideological, religious, and political convictions, and can be influenced by socially typical forms of thought and action, views of life and living conditions within the socialist way of life, by socialist experiences, traditions, and feelings. This plentiful structure of conditions determines the field of action of the SED as of the allied parties. As Egon Krenz explained at the state-and-law conference, the practice in the GDR refutes every attempt at defamation. "When bourgeois ideologues try to cast doubt on the leading role of the working class as well as the tried and true principle of the cooperation of all classes and social strata and of all political forces in the people, they merely prove once more how little everything that we are doing suits them.... If we are speaking of diversity of social relations, then we have in our state anything but a shortage. All five political parties and the social mass organizations are represented by delegates in the elected government bodies in our workers'-and-farmers'-state. Aware of their common responsibility for the well-being of the society, they work just as constructively together as the members of all parties and mass organizations conscientiously fulfil their duties in the governmental offices. (Footnote 10) (E. Krenz, State and Law in the Further Development of the Advantages and Driving Forces of the Socialist Society. Political Science and Jurisprudence Conference of the GDR on 27 and 28 June 1985, Berlin 1985, p 33.)

In the present stage as well, the allied parties always fulfil their functions successfully, because the SED has elaborated a strategy and policy that reach far into the future and make it possible for them to perceive better and better their specific responsibilities for achieving the overall social goals. There is no domestic or foreign-policy question that is not discussed exhaustively with the chairmen of the allied parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR. Trustful discussions at the top level and in the regions, districts, cities, and communities are the expression of a qualitative strengthening of the SED's leading role and of the higher role that devolves on the allied parties in our society. These discussions allow the members of the allied parties to experience the high esteem in their spheres that is shown them by the party of the working class.

As has already been pointed out, the role of the parties is more strongly delineated in the further organization of the developed socialist society. This estimation is founded both on historical experiences and on the demands of the present and future development. "The cooperation with the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany, the Christian-Democratic Party of Germany, the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany, and the National-Democratic Party of Germany is characterized by deep mutual understanding and trust, by camaraderie and candor. Our high esteem is directed at their increasing independent contributions in the most diverse areas of social life, the results of which, whether in agriculture, trade, or the crafts, serve the welfare of the citizens. We agree with our alliance partners that, as we go this common road together, the coresponsibility of the allied parties will only increase. They are, in the truest sense of the word, our comrades-in-arms." (Footnote 11) (From the report of the Politburo to the IXth Congress of the CC of the SED. Reporter: Erich Honecker, Berlin 1984, p 53.)

For the deepening of the cooperation of the allied parties in the GDR the following points are determining:

1. At all times, the success of socialism in the GDR has proved to depend on concluding a firm alliance between the party of the working class and active, nonproletarian parties that articulate interests of allies of the working class. The experiences in the fight to implement the resolutions of the Xth Party Congress of the SED have shown that the quality of the particular contributions of the allied parties toward the strengthening of the socialist society is connected with their mature ability to make accessible the alliance partners' society-forming potential. In this, what is important is to bring to awareness, and continually to bring about, the coincidence of interests as the decisive concern that above all is to be answered by way of different discussions with cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia, artisans, and craftsmen, as well as through the activity of various commissions and study groups. In this way it is possible to have an increasingly better and appropriate influence on how people become aware that their interests coincide, so that specific interests can be represented. In this way the economic and other specifically social driving forces of the alliance partners become more and more useful.

2. The social and political alliance has at all times given a multifarious impulse to the development of socialism in the GDR. Its historical achievements in their turn had a stimulating influence on the consolidation of relations within the alliance. This always presupposed the leading role of the working class and the growing responsibility of the alliance partners. It has been a deeply rooted experience of all classes and social strata that socialism and peace constitute a unity, and that only here social security, democracy, and humanity arise directly from the advance of social development. Precisely for this reason, the alliance partners could contribute and translate into reality their own progressive traditions and humanistic ideals.

3. The allied parties were and are participants in all fundamental social decisions and results. With the initiatives of their members and the closely connected working population they contribute to consolidating the state of workers and farmers. The development after the VIIIth Party Congress of the SED is a particularly obvious corroboration of this fact. Ideas and suggestions of the allied parties helped solve the problems of strengthening the socialist society. Valuable contributions were made above all in deepening the civic consciousness of the party members and in implementing the economic strategy of the SED.

4. Central to the activities at the present stage are the mass initiatives to fulfil the resolutions of the Xth Party Congress of the SED, as part of the broad popular movement in preparation for the XIth Party Congress. The initiatives reflect the life force of the alliance, which emerges from the experience of all classes and social strata that the policy of the SED, directed toward consolidating the peace and continuing the policy of the main task for the well-being of the people, coincides with the interests of all citizens, irrespective of their social origins and their religious or ideological beliefs. This policy gives to all the widest possibilities of actively participating in the work and the decisions on governmental and social matters. It

is at the same time a challenge to all workers to make use to an increased degree of the social possibilities granted them in the constitution with the basic right to participate in democratic organization.

5. The individual auras of the allied parties are inseparably associated with their continual politico-ideological and organizational consolidation. Previous experiences have shown that the essence of the individual contribution of every party basically depends on how it uses its specific motivational potential, how it takes into consideration the social and ideological distinctions, the differing degrees of awareness, and the life experiences of the party members and closely connected citizens.

In fulfilling the resolutions of the Xth Party Congress of the SED, the allied parties have applied themselves more consistently to their own party-specific initiatives for strengthening the economic productivity and solving community political problems. The great number of personal obligations and the economic results achieved are concrete expressions of the civic faith of the party members. These contributions are increasing in number, which is particularly to be seen in the areas of handicrafts, trades, and services rendered, as well as in the citizens' initiative of the National Front of the GDR. The striving for top performance in the socialist competition to increase agricultural production by the members of the DBD, the efforts for a secure peace as the most important social consequence of the Christian ethic, as well as the inventive participation in the socialist competition and in the "Take part!" initiatives by the Christian Democrats, the LPDP party initiative "Alliance contribution to economic growth," and the NDPD contest theme "Plan initiative" of the craftsmen and tradesmen--all these are eloquent expressions of that fact.

6. Because of the high esteem that the allied parties enjoy in the socialist society, and because of the interesting lives of their members, they are attractive to the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, craftsmen, and tradesmen, as well as to the religiously oriented citizens. These groups see in collaborating with the parties a good possibility to avail themselves more extensively of the personal responsibility for society.

The results achieved under the leadership of the SED in organizing the developed socialist society are good preconditions for the further development of the potentials of all classes and social strata. Massive activity on the part of citizens in perfecting socialist democracy and organizing the policy of alliance expedite historical progress, in that social driving forces are released that at the same time are a living expression of the assured historical perspective of the allied parties. The deputies in the local legislative bodies that belong to the allied parties have increased in number, as have the mayors and council members. Also the membership in the allied parties has increased continuously in proportion to their increasing social importance. (Footnote 12) (The overall membership of the allied parties increased from 386,647 in 1981 to 439,200 in 1985.) The political, intellectual, and economic achievements and the creativity of the allied parties are an indispensable element in the further realization of the program of the SED; for the "leading role of the working class enables the classes and social strata that are allied to it to make their own creative contribution to the further organization of the developed socialist society.... In the narrow and creative relations between the cooperating parties in the democratic block and the National Front ... this is vividly evident." (Footnote 13) (E. Honecker, "A World-Historic Deed That Also Freed the German People," Unity, 1985, p 296.)

## PEACE GROUP DEMANDS NUCLEAR POWER REFERENDUM

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 40. No 27, 30 Jun 86 pp 47, 50

[Unattributed article: "Quickly and Carefully: Nuclear Power Critics in the GDR Want to Turn Off Atomic Power by Plebiscite"]

[Text] Horst Sindermann, president of the East German parliament, is having to get used to a completely new feeling for democracy: for the first time in the history of the first German workers' and peasants' state, GDR citizens have applied for a referendum--without asking the SED state party for permission.

In a letter "to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic," four young East Berliners, all of them members of the independent East German peace movement, advised Comrade Sindermann last week that worldwide discussion on alternatives to nuclear energy has intensified since the Chernobyl catastrophe. "We would like to take this means of informing you of initiatives by various citizens which are based on the premise that the final decision about our country's future energy policy can only be made by means of a referendum."

Such a plebiscite, the writers continue, is "constitutionally grounded." "We request information from you as to the exact prerequisites and on the practical collaboration of citizens in the preparation of such a referendum, and at the same time we offer our cooperation."

Enclosed with the letter was the text of a "declaratory act" which has been circulating through the entire East German republic for a week and a half. It contains a demand for "a broad democratic discussion, and comprehensive information for the people as to the advantages and dangers of nuclear energy," in preparation for a referendum. At the same time, each signer affirms: "By my signature, I am supporting the request that the People's Chamber of the GDR arrange for a referendum on future handling of nuclear energy."

The initiators of the signature-gathering effort are availing themselves of a freedom expressly guaranteed in the GDR constitution. In Article 21 we read: each East German's right "to take part in determining and shaping" the socialist community "is guaranteed through the citizens'... expression of their will in referendums." And Article 53 provides that "the People's Chamber can decide to conduct referendums."

This is not precise--and doubtless is not intended to be. It is no accident that GDR citizens have discovered Article 21 of their constitution precisely at this time. The signature campaign of the East Berlin peace activists shows a new self-confidence; East Germans are increasingly insisting upon their right to political co-determination, as guaranteed by the constitution--thereby putting the authorities, who are accustomed to obedience and conformity, in an embarrassing position.

For these opponents, who stay strictly within the limits of legality in their criticism of the socialist state and its party, cannot be disposed of under the stereotype of dissidents.

The SED's critics articulate their lack of confidence in concretely existing conditions primarily in "petitions" to the authorities. To subdue the day-to-day dissatisfaction of many citizens with the stolid and disagreeable servants of the regime, the People's Chamber passed the "Law on Handling Submissions from Citizens" in 1975. It guarantees each GDR inhabitant the right to complain to a higher authority. The organs or functionaries concerned, all the way to the president of the Council of State, Erich Honecker, are obliged to answer every submission within four weeks.

In an SED Central committee session as recently as mid-June, Honecker gave "all party and government organs" marching orders to the effect that they had "a special obligation to handle" suggestions and submissions "quickly and carefully."

To be sure, the SED did not have political compliants in mind in passing the law. So the party is reacting awkwardly even to these pinpricks of its critics. The 21 GDR citizens, for example, who submitted to the SED first secretary a criticism of his party's social policy (SPIEGEL 1986, No 20) in time for the SED party convention, are still awaiting a reply, although the four-week deadline has long since passed. A petitioner who wants to dispute the People's Chamber elections has also heard nothing to date.

It is doubtful whether the SED can similarly dispose of the atomic energy referendum with silence. For the signature campaign could, thanks to Chernobyl, ripen into a mass movement. Already numerous East Germans who otherwise have no concern with the autonomous friends of peace have signed the "declaratory act."

The organizers, church employee Ralf Hirsch, 25, and physicist Martin Boettger, 38, do not know the exact number of signatures; just passing the text along is hard enough in a country which allows only a minority of functionaries access to photocopiers: everyone who signs obligates himself to copy out the declaration ten times himself and to pass it on.

Other East German groups and citizens have, independently of one another, demanded in submissions to the Council of Ministers that appropriate conclusions be drawn from the Chernobyl catastrophe.

As early as 1 May, a peace and environment group from the Berlin-Lichtenberg evangelical congregation called upon the government in writing to shut down all nuclear energy plants in the GDR. Since the beginning of June a seven-page "Appeal to the GDR Government and People from the Independent Peace and Environment Movement and Other Concerned Citizens," signed by several hundred sympathizers, has been in circulation throughout the entire country.

The gist: the true dangers of the nuclear energy plants have hitherto been minimized "in an unheard-of manner" in the GDR. The government must now "finally" reach "the appropriate conclusions" in the light of Chernobyl and question the "entire orientation of an energy and economic policy aimed at broad-based growth."

The GDR, as an industrial state, can afford to immediately abandon atomic energy even less than its class enemy in the West, even if it wanted to. It produces over 80 percent of its power from lignite, which is highly damaging to the environment, and 10 percent from atomic energy produced by the two plants at Lubmin near Greifswald and at Rheinsberg: but the atomic-power share is to rise, if the experts have their way, to some 30 percent by the year 2000.

Nevertheless, Rich Honecker showed last week that he has understood the mood in the country. The SED chief's words in an interview with the Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYHETER: "In my opinion, nuclear power is not the last word."

Yet the state council president's words are hardly addressed to the proponents of the referendum. In the interests of balancing and maintaining power, the SED cannot accept a plebiscite forced upon it from the grass roots. Instead, it is trying to deal with the organizers of the signature-gathering effort. Hirsch and Boettger were sharply called upon by the council of their home district to cease the illegal campaign at once. Otherwise they would have to expect punitive proceedings.

To the question as to what law they had broken, the two received no clear answer.

13070/9835  
CSO: 2300/448

## CC PARTY CONTROL COMMISSION VIEWS VOIVODSHIPS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Evaluate and Draw Conclusions Accurately--Central Party Control Commission Deliberations"]

[Text] The Presidium of the PZPR Central Party Control Commission met on 5 June. The participation of voivodship party control commissions in implementing the tasks undertaken by PZPR voivodship committees was evaluated. The evaluation was based on the results of a study carried out by task groups from the Central Party Control Commission in all voivodships.

In the analysis of these groups, particular attention was paid to the question of to what degree the voivodship party control commissions in carrying out their jurisdictional, supervisory, and preventative tasks presented the voivodship committees broad appraisals and conclusions for improving party work.

Analyzing the material presented, the PZPR Central Party Control Commission stated that within the past year the majority of voivodship party control commissions were able to accurately draw and properly generalize the causes of noted abnormalities and proposals caused by these abnormalities. The evaluation stated that the attention of the organization and party instances resulted in concentrating on efficient action against all negative occurrences in the party's internal life. This generally positive evaluation does not, however, change the fact that some voivodship party control commissions should, according to the Presidium, support the voivodship committees with more firmly than they have so far in their actions.

In addition, the evaluation pointed out that voivodship party control commissions should inform party instances more comprehensively of negative occurrences brought to their attention by party members and non-party citizens in letters and complaints sent to the commission.

Later in the deliberations the presidium evaluated the jurisdictional activity of the Central Party Control Commission in the first 5 months of this year. Adjudicative teams of the Central Party Control Commission investigated a total of 226 matters concerning party members who transgressed the principles of the PZPR Statutes. These adjudicative teams expelled 71 individuals from the party for particularly reprehensible conduct. They also looked at appeals concerning party punishments which have recently come before the presidium.

In addition, the presidium thoroughly analyzed the participation so far of Control Commissions of all levels in the campaign preceeding the 10th PZPR Party Congress.

The deliberations were led by Jerzy Urban, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission.

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CSO: 2600/536



## CC COMMISSION DISCUSSES TEACHER EDUCATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Bohdana Gajdeczkowa: "How to Educate Teachers?--The Work of the Central Committee Commission"]

[Text] (Own information) The education field needs well-prepared teachers who can carry out their duties dependably. The present system of teacher education does not satisfy schools and does not meet the expectations of society.

This was discussed during the second day of proceedings of the Central Committee's Commission on Science and Education, which was held 4-5 June in Turaw near Opole. Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee, led the proceedings. The experience of the Opole regional system of teacher preparation, training, and further education was an exemplification of the topic. Stanislaw Rogala, director of the Teacher Training Division, briefed the members of the Commission on the system.

S. Rogala stated that the education and training of teaching faculty is too important a matter to rely on luck and spontaneity. One can start paying attention to worthy primary school youth who show a predisposition to teaching, in order that they choose the teaching profession.

He also confirmed the view that grammar school teachers in the course of preparing for the teaching profession should obtain the qualifications to teach two subjects, so as to be of the most use in school. Unfortunately, the situation is still prevalent that many subjects, particularly in grammar schools, are taught by teachers without the qualifications to teach them (for example, physics teachers teaching history). Despite the fact that they possess a college diploma in this case they are considered unqualified.

It would also be valuable if teacher training institutions followed the careers of their graduates. On the basis of the results it will be possible to adjust the entire education process.

Jan Marianski of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education presented the members of the commission with the main theses of the prepared project of a

modified system of teacher preparation. In accord with world tendency, the time of teacher education should be lengthened, and future teachers of all school levels should receive the same preparation. The project foresees the assurance of openness in the question of teacher preparation. Certain actions in this direction have already been undertaken.

In the discussion various aspects of education staff preparation were raised. Among other things, attention was paid on the social composition of students of the Higher Pedagogical School. The decided majority of them are graduates of college prep high schools, with intelligentsia family background, urban residents, and, of course, female. It is possible that this is the cause of, among other things, the fact that upon obtaining a teaching degree employment in a village school is avoided. For them it is a completely foreign environment. The idea that preparation for the teaching profession need not take place exclusively through the university also came up in the discussion. Other forms of education of full worth must be assured.

In addition, attention was paid to the necessity of greater interest of educational authorities in preparation for the teaching profession. The problem is great but it is eclipsed by the needs of primary schools.

Commission chairman Henryk Bednarski, speaking at the end of the 2-day session of the commission, concluded that the problems, still too numerous, require attention if we are to speak of a model of teacher education which is to everyone's complete satisfaction. The directions for the work have been drawn-up. This should be reflected in the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress. Thanking the representatives of the Opole academic community for presenting the achievements of the Higher Pedagogical School and the Higher School of Engineering, he stressed the great meaning in further works on modernizing the system of education of teachers in the whole country.

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## PRON ACTIVISTS ON YOUTH PARTICIPATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Jun 86 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Youth Participation in Country's Life--Second All-Poland Meeting of Young PRON Activists"]

[Text] On Sunday morning 8 June, the second all-Poland meeting of young PRON activists was held in Warsaw. The meeting was groundwork for preparations to the Second Congress. They discussed the possibilities of active and mobilizing influence on their social and work surroundings, conditions of breaking the feeling of inability, the search for meaning of life in the creative treatment of everyday matters--in friendship, in improving one's character, will and mind. The opening point to reflections was the words of Jan Dobraczynski directed to the more than 500 participants of the session. The number of young members of PRON is growing. The monthly meetings have increasingly greater attendance, and the discussions at the meetings are increasingly livelier. The group of youth has already gone beyond the borders of discussion; they have begun to undertake concrete activities. Their example is the participation of youth in rebuilding the historic sights of Zamosc. Their help is appreciated there and is commented upon respectfully. The youth not only restore the old buildings, but prove that even in economically difficult times it is possible to enrich the country with historical sights if enthusiasm is joined with common effort. This refers to the harmonious cooperation of people with differing world outlooks--Marxists and Catholics. "This coalition activity"--J. Dobraczynski pointed out--"which should be the corner stone of the rebirth of the nation, is being implemented among the youth and testifies that such cooperation for the good of the country is possible. Don't get the idea into your heads that comfort and possessions can be the greatest goals in human life. It is necessary that youth take up the fight with everything that diminishes and degrades man..."

In the discussion young PRON activists presented some of their initiatives, recalling the statement that People's Poland is not only a national treasure but also in an equal measure the chance of the nation. In order to use this chance, it is necessary to begin with rebuilding the authenticity of social work. The first attempt, which was successful, was the "Zamosc 2,000" action. As Wladyslaw Chomicki, representing the city, described it--social work of youths from all over the country will last the entire year in the form of work training programs of different technical schools, art schools, etc. The task does not only have an educational quality but also a measurable material value, and youth is exceptionally sensitive to that.

All voices in the discussion referred to the line of socialist renewal, to the necessary conditions strengthening the process of the national understanding, to thinking through the possibilities to date of Poland's exit on the way of world development. It was practically generally stated that the success of undertakings in the socio-political arena are dependent on the moral renewal of society and the individual. The young generation looks more categorically and emotionally on manifestations of evil. It often sees the two-facedness of people, it hears their opinions "publicly" and "privately" expressed. This wakens feelings of lack of trust, discouragement, and repulsion.

The comments of the youth were critical, however objective at the same time. They concerned mainly barriers hindering spontaneous participation in social life. It was stressed that the young generation is of many world outlooks, and this fact should be taken into account. Krzysztof Bielecki, a Christian Social Association activist, accented that both humanisms, Christian and Marxist, arising out of the respect for man and his noble values, should be the basis and the tangential point for joint activity.

At the end of the session a document defining the tasks and the forms of activeness of young PRON activists in the period before the movement's Second Congress was prepared. It is emphasized that PRON activists do not stake out institutional borders for social work as social work should arise as a result of the needs of the young generation. All initiative will be supported which serve the formation of active and creative attitudes in workplaces, schools and institutions.

Participants in the meeting were: Jerzy Jaskiernia, Waldemar Swirgon, Zbigniew Gertych and members of the Presidium of the PRON National Council.

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CSO: 2600/536

## PRE-CONGRESS VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCES

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 13, 18 Jun 86 p 11

[Text] 26 May-- Representatives of the party and government leadership including Zbigniew Messner, BP member and prime minister, participated in the conference in Katowice. The following were also present: Jerzy Romanik, BP member; Manfred Gorywoda, deputy premier, chairman of the Planning Committee; Witold Nawrocki, chairman of the KC Department of Culture; Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and power; Mieczyslaw Wojciechowski, chairman of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee. Zbigniew Messner, BP member and prime minister, delivered an address at the conference. The conference which was opened by Bogumil Ferensztajn, KW first secretary, elected 123 delegates to the 10th Congress.

--The following BP members participated in the conference in Krakow: Marian Wozniak, KC secretary; Hieronim Kubiak; Kazimierz Morawski, CKR chairman; Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman, KC department of ideology; Tadeusz Hupalowski, NIK president. The conference, chaired by Jozef Gajewicz, elected 42 delegates to the 10th Congress.

--Participants in the conference in Gdansk were: Tadeusz Porebski, BP member, KC secretary; Boguslaw Kedzia, chairman of KC department of science, education and technology; Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska, minister of science and education; minister Adam Nowotnik, chairman of Office of Maritime Economy; Jozef Zyta, PRL general prosecutor. The conference, which was chaired by Stanislaw Bejger, BP deputy member, KW first secretary, elected 44 delegates to the 10th Congress.

--Participants in the conference in Nowy Sacz were: Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, BP deputy member, KC secretary, and Jozef Olesky, manager of the CKP office. The conference which was chaired by Jozef Brozek, KW first secretary, elected 16 delegates to the 10th Congress.

--Participants in the conference in Legnica were: Marian Orzechowski, BP deputy member, minister of foreign affairs, and Zbigniew Szalajda, deputy premier. The conference, chaired by Jerzy Wilk, KW first secretary, elected 18 delegates to the 10th Congress.

--31 May--The Warsaw pre-congress conference was attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski, KC first secretary. Members of the highest party rank participated in the conference as delegates; Albin Siwak, Marian Wozniak, Jerzy Urbanski, and also Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak, as well as KC department chairmen--Kazimierz Cypryniak, Wladyslaw Honkisz, Boguslaw Kapitan, and Andrzej Wojcik. Janusz Kubasiewicz, KW first secretary, opened the meeting and delivered a report of the Executive. Following the discussions Wojciech Jaruzelski, the KC first secretary, delivered an address. The conference elected 84 delegates to the 10th Congress.

12470/6662

CSO: 2600/530

## INTERDISCIPLINARY SEMINAR ON 'SOCIAL PATHOLOGY'

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 May-1 Jun 86 p 4

[Article by M. Miencznikowska: "Interdisciplinary Study of Social Pathology: A New Branch of Science? The Weakness of the Moral Element, The Place of Society"]

[Text] For a long time the life of society has been accompanied by such things as delinquency, alcoholism, parasitism. However, the history of scientific study of the problem of pathology goes back to the last decades of the previous century. In Poland it has only been for the past 15 years or so that there has been a systematic and gradually more multi-aspect analysis of the causes, manifestations, and means to control behaviors considered pathological.

A central research program, called "Pathological Social Occurrences-- Characterization, Conditions, Prevention", has been recently approved. Sociologists, gerontologists, doctors, lawyers, psychologists, historians, and politicians are taking part in this program coordinated by the University of Warsaw's Institute of Social Preventative Treatment and Resocialization. This brings the question to mind--is it not time to speak of the birth of a new academic discipline? There are differing opinions about this question. However, it seems that knowledge of social pathology is still a part of various academic disciplines, as it does not possess its own specific methodological principles.

The concept itself of social pathology is already susceptible to various interpretations. In everyday understanding, it is associated with such occurrences as alcoholism, drug abuse, prostitution, and delinquency. But when speaking of pathological occurrences, meaning those at variance to generally accepted norms, one can speak not only in the context of behavior of individuals, but also whole social groups and institutions.

In reference to social pathology, Maria Ossowka's comment about the weakness of the inner moral element is particularly apt. This weakness is characteristic not only of Poles. Research has shown that in our orientation the dominating individual is the one who in his actions reckons above all with the opinion of others. This makes society's relation to pathological occurrences so important.

Professor Adam Krukowski of the Institute of Social Preventative Treatment and Resocialization says that research carried out showed that Polish society is strict. This observation is repeated in much analysis. In using this term I have applied here the qualification passive strictness. Polish society does not like many occurrences of social pathology but society expects someone else to deal with these occurrences, be it government institutions, the militia, or the courts. But without the help of society, the pressure of the environment, and without the attitude of what I call active strictness, it will be difficult or even impossible to eliminate or even to reduce the occurrences of behavior at variance to accepted norms.

The occurrence of alcoholism is a classic example. The very same women who suffer the most due to the drunkenness of the men who are at the same time husbands and fathers, accept alcoholic beverages in their own houses. The presence of alcohol is excused by various holiday "occasions."

The goal of the scholars is not only to describe and to diagnose the current state of things but also to define practical directions for changes or preventative actions. But, Professor Krukowski says, "What can we really do?" Especially in the social sciences it is very difficult to transfer theoretical achievements into practice. We can inform the public about what we are doing, especially those individuals who direct the various areas of social life. It sometimes happens that our knowledge is exploited very widely. An example would be when research on juvenile delinquency found its way into appropriate normative acts.

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CSO: 2600/536



## PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 26 MAY-8 JUNE 1986

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 13, 18 Jun 86 p 20

## Meetings of the KC Politburo

[Text] 28 May--The Politburo examined the report prepared by the Cogress Committee on the implementation of the resolutions of the extraordinary Ninth Congress, on the activities of the Central Committee, Politburo, and the KC Secretariat during their term of office, which is coming to a close.

-- It was recognized and took a stand on the updated version of the "PZPR Report."

-- A decision was made to call the 26th Plenary Session for 7 June 1986 for the purpose of reviewing the modified draft of the PZPR Program and the report materials, and then to turn them over to the delegates to the 10th Congress.

-- The Politburo was informed of the friendly working visit to Poland of the KC KPCz secretary general, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, and the Politburo approved of its results.

## Conferences and Meetings

27 May -- On the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary of PPR and state council chairman, the general secretary of KC KPCz, CSRS President Gustav Husak paid a friendly working visit to the Polish People's Republic.

2 June -- the KC PZPR Cultural Commission reviewed a draft of principles for a program for the development of Polish culture. The conference was chaired by Hieronim Kubiak, member of BP, and the participants were KC Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and Chairman of the KC Department for Cultural Affairs Witold Nawrocki.

-- The KC Maritime Commission evaluated the ongoing realization of the decisions of the Ninth Congress in the area of maritime affairs and realization of the state's maritime policy as well as the cadres' policy in this field. The chairman of the meeting was the alternate member of the Politburo

Stanislaw Bejger; the participants: Stanislaw Kalkus, BP member; Wladyslaw Gwiazda, deputy prime minister, and Adam Nowotnik, minister, director of the office of maritime economy.

-- KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski met with socialist countries' correspondents accredited to Poland and with the press attaches of those countries' embassies in Warsaw. The subject of the meeting was a report on the discussions on the draft of the PZPR Program.

3 June -- Marian Wozniak, BP member, KC secretary, met with Ognian Dojnow, BP KC BPK member, chairman of the Economic Council of the Council of Ministers, deputy premier who is the leader of the LRB economic delegation visiting Poland, Georgi Georgijew, LRB ambassador, and Marek Holdakowski, chairman of the KC PZPR economic department.

4-5 June -- At the meeting in Turaw near Opole the KC Committee for Science and Education, chaired by KC Secretary Henryk Bednarski, debated on the current problems of schools of all levels and also on the education of teachers' cadres.

5 June -- The CKKP Presidium evaluated the contribution made by the WKKP in the realization of tasks undertaken by the PZPR provincial committees. They also examined the up-to-date participation by the control commission, on all levels, in the campaign prior to the PZPR 10th Congress. The debates were led by CKKP chairman Jerzy Urbanski.

-- The KC Agricultural Committee discussed the party's activity on state farms and production cooperatives. The discussion was led by KC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

-- BP member, KC Secretary Jozef Czyrek met with Surowic, chairman of the International Commission of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, Mllivoje Maksic. The SFRJ ambassador took part in the meeting.

#### Functions and Organizations

27 May -- The KW in Szczecin held talks on the subject: "Quality of work and production as an essential factor in the improvement of the standard of living."

28 June -- The KW in Tarnobrzeg evaluated the fulfillment of the socio-economic plan for the provinces in the last 3 years and discussed the realization of tasks at hand.

#### Intraparty Collaboration

26 May -- Jan Glowczyk, alternate BP member, KC secretary, met with the delegation of the BAAS theoretical-political journal AL-MUNADIL of Syria. The delegation, under the leadership of the chief editor, secretary of the KN BAAS, information office Yassin Salman is visiting in Poland on the invitation of the journal NOWE DROGI.

-- Henryk Bednarski, KC secretary, met with the delegation of the KPZR District Committee from Smolensk, together with KC KPZR member and KO KPZR Secretary Iwan Klimienko, visiting now in Poland on the invitation of KW PZPR in Czestochowa.

-- Ernest Kucza, head of the KC PZPR Foreign Affairs Department, visiting in Moscow on the invitation of KC KPZR was received by Wadim Miedwiediew, secretary of KC KPZR.

29 May -- Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, alternate BP member, KC secretary, received the KC NSPJ delegation which together with Karl Lebig, director of the Department of Party Agencies of KC NSPJ, is in Poland now on a working visit.

28-31 May -- The 19th MPLR Congress took place in Ulan-Bator. A PZPR delegation under the leadership of Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of BP, deputy chairman of State Council, took part in the congress.

2 June -- K. Barcikowski was received by Dzambyn Batmucha, KC MPLR general secretary, chairman of the Presidium of the Great Folk Chunal MRL.

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## PZPR LODZ COMMITTEE DISCUSSES IMPLEMENTING RESOLUTIONS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jun 86 p 2

[Article: "Plenum of the PZPR Lodz Committee—Proposals from the Pre-Congress Campaign"]

[Text] There was a plenum of the PZPR Lodz Committee on 9 June under the leadership of Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Lodz Committee. The plenum took up the discussion of the implementation of the proposals and resolutions expressed at the Lodz pre-congress conference. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Central Committee and vice president of the Sejm, and Jozef Niewiadomski, minister of construction, municipal public services, and land use management, were two of the many invited guests present.

Miroslaw Czesny, secretary of the Lodz Committee, at the beginning of the discussion discussed the most important of the 100 resolutions voiced by the delegates, emphasizing that verification of them was not carried out, none were thrown out, they were only grouped according to merits. They will be discussed later by the presiding officer of issue groups of the Lodz Committee and after detailed reworking they will give it to the Lodz voivodship delegates to the 10th Party Congress.

The discussion reflected over how the party, its members, and organizations should act in order to bring about their efficient implementation.

Tomasz Szewc, first secretary of the Polesie City District Committee, reminded that one of the most important questions is the assurance of a just division of the national income, which should be carried out according to the work contributed and its effects.

On the other hand, Jaroslaw Pietrzyk, Lodz city president, proposed that in implementing these resolutions and proposals to take into consideration those resolutions voiced during the election campaign to People's Councils and the Sejm because some of the resolutions are repeated. This also means, he said, that resolutions which are unreal or impossible to fulfill in the near future be publicized with the reasons for the decision also given.

Krystyna Kartczewska, first secretary in the Stomil Rubber Plant, accented the inspirational-supervisory role of party members. Continuing that thought, Bogdan Plusa, first secretary of Strykow Gmina Committee, said that we must urgently look that these proposals do not float around various offices only to show up again in the next term.

Tadeusz Czechowicz summed up the discussion, pointing out the main tasks before the Lodz organization before the 10th Party Congress.

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CSO: 2600/536

## CATHOLIC WEEKLY VIEWS POZNAN '56 ANNIVERSARY, MEANING

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 25, 22 Jun 86, pp 1, 2

[Article by Janusz Ziolkowski: "Poznan June"]

[Text] The 30 years that have passed since the "Poznan June" of 1956 have not been much in the life of the national community. Nor is 30 years much in the life of a city which turns up in public records as long ago as the beginnings of the Polish state. But at the same time, 30 years can mean a great deal. There are two kinds of time: sun time and social time. It is the latter sort of time that we associate with the awareness that something important is going on in the life of the community, something lasting that is carried beyond the flow of time and should not be lost to memory.

Historical memory is a good of the highest order. The national community is oblivious to the past, either joyful or painful. It is in danger of losing its identity. In his address in Stockholm upon receiving the Nobel Prize, Czeslaw Milosz uttered these monumental words: "On a planet which is shrinking each year, with the fantastic development of the mass media, a process is going on that evaded definitions in the past, a process which we can call the refusal to remember."

(----) (Law of 31 July 1981, On the control of publications and public events, Article 2, Point 6, DZIENNIK USTAW (Gazette of Laws), No 44, Item 204).

The commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Poznan June held in 1981 effectively combatted "the refusal to remember." They somehow made a revaluation of the Poznan worker break. They got the 1956 Poznan incidents out of the realm, to use Stanislaw Ossowski's terms, of the "private fatherland," identified with one's town or part of the country, and somehow put them into the realm of the "ideological fatherland," identified with the entire country and the nation as a whole.

What was June 1956? It was the first massive worker protest in Poland's postwar history. The Poznan June provided a start for the deep process of democratization of social and political life, in which the working class

democratization of social and political life, in which the working class spoke up as the main pillar of the nation and as the most worthy representative of its patriotic aspirations. The process fell within two major delimiters, the years 1956 and 1980. This process occurred on several planes. First, the economic one. This was a protest against injustice in the realm of human labor, against the exploitation of the workers, severe work discipline, price hikes, wage reductions, and accelerated production norms.

The second plane was sociopolitical in nature. The protest of the Poznan workers concerned the way authority was exercised, the style of government, and relations between those governing and the governed. There was the growing conviction that on the other side there not only heartlessness, indifference, stupidity, and ill will, but also arrogant disregard for the working class, which was exploited as an unwilling, unthinking mass, which need not be paid attention to or cared about but was necessary only to carry out production plans. And these were plans from a period when bureaucratic centralism had a particular habit of lording it over everyone and plans were being set arbitrarily without any element of social supervision and control, plans which did not have much to do with the working people's good.

But the protest reached deeper. It played mainly on the moral plane. There is a tendency -- this applies not only to the 1956 incidents -- to reduce worker demands to material issues. Nothing could be more false. At the foundation of the strike in the Cegielski Plants was the conviction that supreme moral principles had been violated.

To use the formulation of Stefan Czarnowski, the great sociologist from the period between the wars (in his 1933 study on the creation of worker culture), the workers movement is governed by three principles: justice, human dignity, and brotherhood. These three issues were expressed in the protest, attitudes, and actions of the Poznan workers.

The strike began in the Cegielski Plants. This was no coincidence. This was the largest factory in Poland at the time, and it was a plant with a long, proud tradition. The disregard for legal regulations, nonsense, arbitrary decisions, and organizational disorder were an outrage to it. Respect for good work, and a sense of justice and social order were, for the Poznan workers perhaps more than anywhere else in Poland, a moral principle the violation of which evoked a particularly strong reaction. Any attempts to alter decisions that cheated the workers were met with a negative response from authorities and officials. The result was bitterness and a sense of profound injustice. These attitudes were reinforced by the fact that the workers went to great effort to meet the demands of the new production plan. In the discussion at the end of 1955 on the five-year plan that was to get under way in 1956, more than 4,700 suggestions were made in connection with the possibility of carrying out the plan and improving plant operation. None of them, even those related to occupational health and safety, were taken up by the central authorities.

The sense of injustice, moral outrage, and awareness that the principle of fairness had been violated were also accompanied by something else, the fact that in the view of the workers, the dignity of workers had been disregarded. The Poznan worker felt that his dignity had been violated, both as a steward of the workplace and as a member of the social class on whose behalf authority was exercised.

The issues of justice and dignity were quickly joined by the third principle mentioned by Czarnowski, brotherhood. The position taken by the central authorities cemented the unity of the workforce. All categories, white- and blue-collar workers, party members and non-members, supervisor and rank and file rallied around the demands and actions which initially came out of a single group, the employees of the boxcar factory (the famous W-3). The strike action at Cegielski also evoked solidarity in other Poznan factories.

The significance of the Poznan June was related to the liberalization process whose peak was Polish October. The changes which we call liberalization happened prior to June 1956. The Poznan incidents did not appear *deus ex machina*. They were first of all the reflection of a broader context than that drawn by the borders of the country. This was a period of, to use the terminology of the time, the "drying out" begun in 1953, the condemnation of the cult of the individual, the elimination of "errors and distortions." In Poland this was the period of "The Poem for Adults"<sup>1</sup>, "Po Prostu"<sup>2</sup>, and the Crooked Circle Club (Klub Krzywego Koła)<sup>3</sup>, of the restoration of law and order where it had been most flagrantly violated, political amnesty, and the rehabilitation of AK. Poznan June has to be seen in this context and in this general atmosphere. But what a qualitative jump along with it! What up until then had gone along rather slowly, below the surface, all of a sudden accelerated. What up until then had been the work of a rather narrow circle of intellectuals and activists came to encompass the broadest masses.

We might dare to say that without June there could not have been a Polish October. Under its powerful influence, exceptional, rapid political changes were made that led to a basic reversal of political orientation and changes in the team in power.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY wrote about the role that June played in this realm as follows (Vol 11, No 5/240, 3 Feb 1957): "The Poznan incidents fully revealed how enormous the internal situation was, showing that it is necessary to come to an agreement with the society and gain its support, or else choose the road of stifling all free action. This road led to unavoidable conflict between the political leadership and the will of the nation. Nonetheless, the Poznan incidents explained to this extent the situation in which the party had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to adopt one decision or another. This was the alternative: either with the nation or against it. The growing struggle between the two concepts were resolved at the Eighth Party Plenum."



Perhaps the Poznan incidents were to perform one other general national service. The sacrifice of blood should not be treated as the subject of intellectual speculation, but there is no way to get around the impression that the blood poured out in Poznan protected the nation from a far greater tragedy that could have occurred several months later, because in the mind of the nation June acted as a painful warning.

When we note that the incidents in June contained an element leading up to the Polish October, it is worth recalling, even briefly, the accomplishments associated with October. A large proportion of them, it is true, were very short-lived. The economic issues are an example. The influence of reforms like the new policy in the realm of consumption and wages, the expansion of the authority of the industrial firms, the creation of worker councils, and the formation of an Economic Council of the Council of Ministers did not extend beyond the end of 1958. There was one important exception, though. It was agriculture. Private agriculture, rehabilitated after 1956, although limited in operation and underinvested, lasted with all its beneficial effects for the whole life of the nation.

The area in which October left the most lasting traces was national culture (here we should include not only artistic creativity and art as a whole but also education and science). Creative people no longer had doctrinaire schemes and structures thrust on them. Freedom of pursuit, experiment, and innovation produced a tremendous revitalization and bolstered creativity in the realm of literature, theater, music, painting, visual arts, applied art, film, and architecture. Polish culture, in its artistic form, again became an integral part of the culture of the West, and this was not only in terms of reception, making up many years of isolation, but also in terms of distribution of its least expensive creations. Never before had Polish creativity (music, theater, posters, painting, sculpture, artistic weaving, film, literature, art conservation and architecture) enjoyed such acclaim abroad. In education October produced new Polish literature and history textbooks, in science: the independence of the educational institutions and broader contacts on pluralistic principles with world scientific creativity, the reconstitution of the rank of the researcher's creative autonomy and the restitution of eliminated disciplines (like sociology).

Insofar as religious matters went, so closely related to the nation's cultural identity, October brought the release of primate Stefan Wyszyński (----) (Law dated 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Public Performances, Article 2, Point 4 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, amended in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)). The acceptance of the church's special position in the country's cultural life and, more broadly, in its social life, is also related to this.

When we think of "June," we immediately call to mind the June monument. What is the monument? As the late Aleksander Wallis put it, it is an institution of the social memory. Monuments spring from a deep conviction about the importance of history. Important incidents, eminent people who have left a forceful stamp on the life of their society, have been given a

permanent place in the form of monuments, and are the symbol of the lasting and continuous nature of national culture. From the viewpoint of lasting, the history of each monument is made up of two separate, incomparable periods. The first encompasses the time from the moment that the thought about the need for a monument appears to the moment it is erected and unveiled. The second begins the day after this formal act, when the monument begins to live its own life.

This is how it was too with the June monument which was erected to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Polish June. An initiative appeared. A construction committee was created, with Roman Brandstaetter as chairman. A collection for provide funding began all over the country. There was a competition, designing began in many sculptors' studios, and a jury was selected. There was avid social discussion on the shape and location of the monument. A design was selected for execution, and the area where the monument was to be erected was walled. In all these actions there was a single imperative: the June monument must be ready on 28 June, on the 25th anniversary. A race against time began. Workers in the Poznan factories disinterestedly gave their work and time. The Silesian steelworks answered the call from Poznan. The shipping of the elements of the monument from the Cegielski Plants to Mickiewicz Square by the route taken by the workers' march 25 years ago became a great triumphal demonstration. Later, the erection of the monument in front of crowds that "came and went like a wave reaching the side of a ship with two gigantic masts" (from the report in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, vol 35, no 27/1963, 5 July 1981).

Finally came the formal unveiling of the monument on 28 June 1981. Well we remember the day: hundreds of thousands of people there, a serious atmosphere of concentration, the shriek of sirens and all the bells in Poznan ringing, a wave of emotion which swept over the vast crowds at the raising of the great sail, which was in the form of a red and white flag. Then the monument, full of power and dignity, appeared before everyone's eyes. Two crosses joined together. They give the impression of being in a parade. Walking crosses. Father Stanislaw Musial wrote in the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY issue above: "In the first cross you could see Christ carrying the second smaller one, the symbol of Poland...Therefore it is a monument of Christ the Samaritan, carrying weary Poland." And at the foot, an eagle. On the crosses of the monument the dates: 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976, 1980. And the words: "For freedom, law, and bread." TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY wrote: "Today there is no more bread in our country than in the tragic days of June 1956. If there is no one in the streets protesting this, it is because it is expected that freedom and law will increase."

The second period of the June monument's biography began with the unveiling. The period of the search for an idea, program, material shape, and artistic expression had come to an end. The monument had become a social fact. Coming out of the society's aspirations and being a product of its strivings, during the second period the monument became ideological and moral property, not only of the society of Poznan and Greater Poland,

but also of the whole nation. There was also general social acceptance. The symbolism was moving, simple, clear, understandable to everyone. Its monumental nature was impressive. The artistic media proved bearable.

There are many monuments in Poznan, but the June monument stands above them all, as a material object, a work of art, and a symbol. It has been barely 5 years since it was erected, unveiled, and dedicated, but it has already become a part of the outline of the city and has become an inseparable part of its landscape. It stands there, powerful, evocative, full of meaning, eye-catching, evoking emotion and provoking reverie.

The Poznan June incidents symbolized by the two "walking crosses" irresistibly present the notion of the inseparable bond between Christianity and the fate of the nation. In Poland Christianity has become the content of the nation's self-knowledge and the determinant of its ethical awareness. It endows our culture with a certain specific tone peculiar to Poland. The church has turned out to be the heir and trustee of the 1000 years of national tradition. In dividing up the goods, Christianity has become the spokesman for the working man on both the personal plane and on the social plane. Defending human rights it gives human work the highest value, not only economic and social value but also ethical and superinstrumental value. In Poland there has been an integration of the world of work with the world of religion, an astounding achievement against the backdrop of the severe division that has existed since the 19th Century between human labor, especially physical work, and religion. Unlike the countries of the West, where the sacred sphere is becoming increasingly distinct and separate in time and space from the sphere of the profane, in Poland the sacred has entered our daily reality, especially the reality of human labor. It has turned up in "secular" places, like the streets and squares.

An expression of this is the Poznan June, actions related to commemorating its anniversary and the social role of the monument. During the strike in the Cegielski Plants people cried out: "...we are demanding that Primate Wyszynski be let out of prison." During the demonstration in the square in front of the university, people sang religious songs as well as patriotic ones. When it came time to build the monument, it was the workers themselves above all who came out in favor of its being in the form of crosses. What sort of categories could be used to express the fact that in 1981 Christ returned to his former spot, the place of the monument of the gratitude to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which was destroyed during the occupation? He returned in the form of a cross. Not alone. With another cross.

The June monument became the spatial and spiritual center to focus the city's society, the place of private pilgrimage and group tribute. It was elevated to the rank of the sacred. The area in which it is located also became sacred. For a human being, space is neither just a physical object nor geometric arrangement. Space is a component of the system of values, in relation to which it has content and meaning. It is a value in itself. In essence, the area of the present Mickiewicz Square has had special

significance for the city's residents ever since 1956. The instinct of the Poznan workers was correct when they asked for just such a location during the discussion on plans for the monument.

Pope John Paul II gave it the final consecration (----) (Law dated 31 July 1981, On the control of publications and public performances, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99, amended: 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)) was there where, as he said, "two crosses stood to commemorate the victims of 1956. For various reasons, owing to the more distant and more recent future, this place has been baptized by the people of Poznan and Greater Poland. Therefore I too want to kneel in spirit in this spot and pay my respects..."

You can look at the June monument through the metaphor of a boat, cross, and gate. The Poznan crosses are often compared to the two masts put up on a powerful boat. The sail went up over them on the date of the dedication. But what the gate? This is made clear by Norwid's poem "The Cross and the Child," where the cross "became...a gate." The June monument is a gate, through which the sacrifice of blood of the people of Poznan entered history and became history, through which we cross over the threshold of hope, through which we enter into community.

#### [Footnotes

1. PO PROSTU -- "Straight Talk," according to Czeslaw Milosz in "History of Polish Literature," a "rebellious weekly of young Communist intellectuals. The paper was to become a major force in preparing for the "Polish October" of 1956 and was closed down by the authorities in 1957 (or October 1958 according to another source) as too radical in its demands for democratic changes within the socialist system of economy." The Marxist philosopher Leszek Kolakowski was active in PO PROSTU as a founding member.

2. Klub Krzywego Kola, a discussion club located in Warsaw's Old Town near Krzywe Koło Street. It operated longer than PO PROSTU was allowed to function and had some similar associations but was not directly related to the PO PROSTU editorial staff. It met weekly and consisted primarily of young people and students, but the weekly speakers were often prominent persons from the party, government, and cultural arena.

3. "Poemat dla Doroslych" -- "A Poem for Adults" was written by Adam Wazyk (exact date uncertain) and published in a small book of poetry, about 30 pages. The poem itself was only about one to two pages long, but it was a bitter and sarcastic tirade against the authorities' control of cultural issues, and for many marked the break from a socialist-realist style of writing.]

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CSO: 2600/561

## UNION OF SOCIALIST POLISH YOUTH 'SELF-EXAMINATION' NOTED

'Self-Criticism' Dominates at Katowice Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 86 p 2

[Article by [PL]: "What Sort of Union Do Youth Want?"]

[Text] (Own information) In the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, the organizational structures are not perviewous. There are many random factors in the formulation of tasks. A lack of competence has been noticed. Unfortunately, we are also not bringing up successors to our organizational functions. We must remember this when we look at various aspects of a general review of the structures and positions of work throughout our country.

These words uttered by Jan Wojtowicz, a delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress and chairman of the Katowice Provincial ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], gave the 6th plenary meeting of the union's central directorate (9 July) a more earnest working nature than the preliminary report.

"Scientific and technical progress," he added, "are our passport into the 21st century. However, let us consider what this really means within our own organization. After all, the TMMT has still failed to function as a promoter for inventors. We know of no one in our organization that is in any way similar to the engineer Kowalski. Are we ready to take economic reform into our own hands when we still have the same archaic system of political education that is so painfully obvious in the activities of the University of Economic Reform?"

Captain Zbigniew Ciereszko said: "Let us no longer tolerate losers in our ranks. We cannot allow activities in the ZSMP to be used as a stepping-stone to a political career. We must also admit that our ZSMP colleagues are afflicted by all kinds of pomp, internal fighting and submissiveness to the administration".

Pawel Kluta of the Paris Commune Shipyards in Gdynia spoke about the need to revise the working style of the ZSMP. He said that: "Young workers are capable of appraising both activists and programs. This is not self-catsigation. We must be able to honestly be able to say what workers can gain from all of the

superficial political campaigns conducted within our union. After all, shouldn't today's meeting dedicated to the tasks that the party congress has placed upon the ZSMP be preceded by individual talks with organization members?"

During the plenary discussions, 16 members of the central directorate and delegates to the 10th Congress spoke out on various subjects.

In a new resolution, the central directorate outlined the newest tasks that the union should try to implement along with the rest of society and also formulated tasks for its own organization. It also approved new principles for creating and spending the Youth Social Action Fund. The meeting was chaired by Jerzy Szmajdziński, chairman of the central directorate. Bogusław Kedzia, director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Science, Education and Technical Progress was also present.

#### Students View Membership, Activities

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 86 p 4

[Article by Ewa Klosiewicz and Renata Maszkowska: "Subject For Discussion"]

[Text] What are we really like? Do we want to be different? What is important to us? What does it mean to be an "active person"? The participants of a ZSMP camp at Mierki near Olsztyn this year tried to answer those questions.

Pupils of some Warsaw middle schools gave us some of the answers quoted below. They were: Monika Niewiadomska from the Economics Schools Group, Renata Starobrat and Ewa Boczkowska from the Horticultural Technical School, Bartek Kotarski from the General Middle School Number 49, Anna Zorawska from Vocational School Number 17, Rafal Lukasik from the Opwer Engineering Schools Group and Ryszard Kowalski, a graduate of the Automotive Schools Group.

Bartek Kotarski: Many of the people in my age group are just out to take what they can get. It's quite natural for our parents who were raised in harder times to try to make everything easier for us. Many of us take advantage of that and try to get everything from our parents that we can without giving anything in return. We also try to pretend we are better than we are but in hiding our shortcomings, we forget that we will soon be out of school and will have to make decisions for ourselves and others. Sometimes I wonder what we will be like for our children. After all, they will want things too but we are not used to giving. If society is going to be the same way we are, I don't think the future is too rosy. We have to start thinking more seriously about the present and prepare ourselves for adult life. That is why I joined ZSMP.

Anna Zorawska: Not everyone has it so fabulously at home as you say. Some parents are not so easy because they make you earn what you get. It is, however, true that people speak too highly of youth. We know ourselves all too well and are doing nothing to change.

Monika Niewiadomska: Before I joined ZSMP, I didn't really want to do anything either. Now I have the satisfaction of knowing that I do can something to

improve things. For example, we recently got toys for a children's home and cleaned up a park. I learned that it is a great joy to give someone else some pleasure even in such simple ways.

Renata Starobrat: On his own, a person cannot do much. It is true that you can act outside of an organization but membership in a group sort of forces you to do something, not only for yourself but for others and you do it not because you have to but because you want to.

Bartek Kotarski: Out of the 500 pupils in our school, there are only 11 ZSMP members. It is not at all easy for us to gain acceptance. We are still trying to attract our friends though...

Anna Zorawska: But what are you doing to get other people to join?

Ryszard Kowalski: That's right! To get other people involved, you have to do something more than just talk. For me what counts is real work, regardless of how many members you have.

Anna Zorawska: We don't urge people to join but just spend time with our friends. We tell them to come and see for themselves. And some of them do and then stay with us. We don't need to have as many members as we can get. Recently, everyone in our class signed up with ZSMP because the sponsor was our teacher. There are only 17 members left but that doesn't bother us at all.

Rafal Lukasik: I am not a member of ZSMP. I came to the camp to see for myself what things are really like. Some people have urged me to join while others say bad things about it. To be frank, all of these more serious issues are not important to me. While I am young, I want to have a good time because I will have time enough for problems later on.

Anna Zorawska: Some people take on great responsibilities and are not afraid of doing so. I don't think I can do that. I don't think I can change anything. I think that adults do everything better and have more experience because they are older. I am too young to do important things very well.

Rafal Lukasik: That's right. We are not used to responsibility. From what my mother has told me, young people were different and better at one time...

Bartek Kotarski: I know that many young people were at the 10th Congress and that they tried to help solve our present and past problems.

Ewa Boczkowska: I think that events like the 10th Congress should interest us more. I myself do not really want to think about things like that. There are so many things in life that are more interesting than having to worry about some important problem.

Bartek Kotarski: Do you think that you are suddenly going to understand everything when you turn 25?

Anna Zorawska: That is why it is not the organization itself that is so important but the people that join it. I feel more secure because I know that as

soon as I have a problem, there will be someone to talk to and explain the things that I myself don't understand.

Ryszard Kowalski: Yes, but there are few people that really want to do something and understand things. As soon as vacation time comes around, the number of ZSMP members jumps sharply. What does this mean? It is true that for some, the little red book with the ZSMP symbol means nothing more than a chance to take a nice trip.

Bartek Kotarski: Maturity and commitment are not things that just appear on their own. Many people have to be convinced and influenced. In general, it is necessary to talk a lot with people who know more.

Anna Zorawska: But older people do not have much time to talk. A desire to know and understand is not enough if no one is there to help you. I am afraid that I will not do very well in adult life. A person conforms whether he wants to or not and there are so many things that I don't like.

Rafal Lukasik: That's right. I will go to work in September. What I most fear is that I will end up with people for whom lunch break is the most important thing and that if I don't become the same sort of person, I will be rejected.

Ryszard Kowalski: But you have to try to change something because if you are afraid to try, no one will help you.

12261  
CSO: 2600/590



## BRIEFS

SOCIAL SECURITY PACT WITH GREEKS--(PAP Report)--On 3 July 1986 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building was the site of a formal exchange of documents ratifying an agreement between the governments of the Polish Peoples Republic and the Republic of Greece on social security insurance for persons employed on the territories of either country, as signed in Athens on 3 May 1985, followed by an exchange of demarches pertaining to the ratification of an agreement between the Polish Peoples Republic and the Republic of Greece on the settlement of certain social security issues, as signed in Athens on 3 May 1985. The process of exchanging documents was performed by Tadeusz Olechowski, vice minister of foreign affairs, and Leonidas A. Evangelidis, ambassador of the Republic of Greece. The aforementioned agreements are effective as of 1 September 1986. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jul 86 p 7] /9738

CSO: 2600/594

## CRITICS GUILTY OF 'RETROGRADE' TENDENCIES, SAYS WRITER

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 11 Jul 86, No 28 prints on pages 3 and 7 a 6,000-word critique by Corneliu Vadim Tudor entitled "The Duty of Criticism." The critique is aimed at the contents of Issue No 3-4, 1984 of CAIETE CRITICE ["Critical Notebooks"], a publication that appears under the aegis of the Writers Union review VIATA ROMANEASCA. Tudor states that the articles in this publication are at variance with remarks by Nicolae Ceausescu on the function of literary criticism.

Tudor quotes Ceausescu's remarks first: "I wish to emphasize on this occasion the great responsibility which criticism and aesthetic theory, based on the philosophical conception of historical and dialectical materialism, bear in orienting our literary creativity." And also: "Literary as well as art criticism must be communist criticism, our literary reviews and magazines must be wholly communist. We must not allow any type of criticism which attempts to promote retrograde aesthetic conceptions."

Two dozen or so critics are then taken to task for operating under "retrograde aesthetic conceptions"--as this label is understood by Tudor. One such conception, which Tudor states is exemplified in a majority of their works, takes the form of a "distressing servility to fashion" especially to "emanations of certain snobs from Paris, London, Freiburg, Lausanne and other European cities." Romanian critics (e.g., Eugen Simion, Cornel Moraru, Monica Spiridon, Mircea Cartarescu) says Tudor, have gotten into the habit of appealing to the authority of "foreign specialists" (Barthes, Ricoeur, Wellek, Genette [sic], Jauss, etc.), which practice "smells of semicolonialism." Romanian writers, on the other hand, are downgraded, says Tudor. Some critics (e.g., Alexandru Piru), Tudor continues, even encourage vulgarity and bad taste in poetry.

Using quotations, Tudor then illustrates his next point that some critics (e.g., Mircea Iorgulescu, Alexandru Musina, Solomon Marcus) abuse and otherwise mistreat the Romanian language, showing ignorance of grammar and of the meaning of words. He goes on to what he considers another "retrograde" tendency, "arrogance": "Many of the contributors to the 'Critical Notebooks' are under the impression that they are God's gift to man, and that our literature and Romanian intellectual life in general would collapse without literary criticism and, implicitly, without these critics." Such statements as "For over 2 decades, criticism has been in the avant-garde of Romanian literature"

and "The duty of criticism to literature: to stand guard" as well as others along similar lines made by critics accused of "arrogance" (e.g., Ioanichie Olteanu, Eugen Simion, I.B. Lefter, Octavian Paler) are quoted by Tudor as proof.

Finally, another "retrograde" tendency according to Tudor is the "intolerance and lack of culture" shown by these critics. "This is just what one would expect," Tudor states, from critics "who consider gregariousness more important than elementary culture."

/12232

CSO: 2700/266

## GOALS OF LITERATURE OUTLINED AT PARTY CONGRESS

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian No 29 of 18 July 1986, page 3, publishes an article 1,400 words long by Geo Ciolcan entitled "The IXth Congress and Literature." According to the writer, "there was a time when the wing of dogmatism spread its shadow over" Romanian literature "undermining the expression of genuine revolutionary spirit in thought and culture." As a result of this, he continues, "only those works which followed certain ideological preconceptions certified as immutable and infallible, were given artistic value." But all that has been changed, Ciolcan adds, thanks to "the vision of inestimable aesthetic value" of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu who has urged contemporary Romanian writers to "take into account artistically and realistically the great changes which have taken place in the midst of Romanian socialist society." As Ceausescu himself put it in his remarks delivered before the IXth Congress, "art and literature's unique concerns are with constantly perfecting and renewing creative means of artistic expression; every tendency towards exclusivity or rigidity in this field must be removed. What is essential is that every artist, according to his own style and retaining his artistic individuality, demonstrate a high degree of responsibility towards the content of his work and see to it that his work reaches the heart and mind of the people." Romanian writers have heeded this call, says Ciolcan. He remarks a bit later that "We live in socialist times so we have a duty to create a literature of these socialist times."

/9599

CSO: 2700/254

## CONTEMPORARY SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION ASSESSED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 27 Jun 86 p 6

[Article by N. I. Maris: "Atheism and Objective Displacement of Religious Observance"]

[Text] Doubt no longer exists that religion and religious institutions are currently undergoing a pronounced crisis without precedent in their history. It was noted by a number of theologians even at the end of the last century. The crisis has been quantified by a number of highly discerning sociological studies and research in specialized Marxist and non-Marxist literature, just as the church and its officials have in turn deplored the proportions of the crisis in tones of alarm. This state of worry and anguish, also unique, is also reflected in the following statement by an ideologist of the Catholic Church, who recently wrote the following. "Millions of people in Europe are covertly and quietly abandoning Christianity and the church. They are changing their Christianity as they would change worn-out clothing. They are abandoning the church as they would abandon a ruin, a grave, or a catacomb, which, it is true, still frightens them from time to time. People no longer pay heed to the life hereafter, the existence of God, his love and forgiveness, or his intercession".

As a result of the processes of secularization now affecting all the religions of the world, the displacement of the religious in the light of today is proceeding at a dizzying pace. The sociocultural and political phenomena which speed up the disintegration of religious beliefs are many in number. These problems of such great complexity are approached with scientific honesty and multidimensional analysis in a recent collection of studies entitled "Indrumar pentru educatia materialist-stiintifica, umanist-revolutionara a tineretului" [A Guide to Scientific Materialist and Revolutionary Humanist Education of Youth] and published by the Editura Politica (Publishing Office for Political Literature) (coordinators: Gheorghe Crasnea, Ion Strugariu; authors: Ana Balasa, Dr Petre Bieltz, Dr Aculin Cazacu, Adina Chelcea, Dr Septimiu Chelcea, Serban Cionoff, Gheorghe Crasnea, Dr Petre Datculescu, Alexandru Dobre, Dr Georgeta Florea, Dr Florin Georgescu, Dr Dumitru Ghise, Dr Octavian Nistor, Dr Paul Popescu-Neveanu, Ion Strugariu, Dr Gheorghe Vladutescu.

The functions of such a guide are revealed both by the particularly diverse and extensive problem area covered by the studies, whose authors, are well-known university teachers, research workers, activists in the sphere of

propaganda, and journalists. They are also reflected in the scientific documentation and information (the collection makes available to readers an extensive, useful, and effective bibliography for deepening the studies included in the Indrumar).

As a reflex of the crisis phenomenon, attempts to modernize religion, to "revitalize" traditional theological and religious concepts, are becoming increasingly frequent. As is demonstrated by a reading of the studies published, to retain its credibility contemporary theology often has not hesitated to put a new and more "agreeable" face on traditional dogmas. At the end of the last century such an attempt was termed "evolutionist theology," and more recently another theology has been launched, the "theology of the death of God," and even the designation "irreligious Christianity" or the more modern one "Christian atheism," the theology of "hope," are accepted. Certain widely accepted ideas of contemporary philosophy and culture have now been adopted so as to be even more in harmony with the "secular" culture and spirit. So it is that theological anthropologies of an existentialist nature have been formulated, and attempts have been made to re-dimension precepts by an appeal to pragmatism, freudianism, phenomenology, personalism, and even positivism, with its most recent variations. In this desperate effort to "adapt" to the mindset of the 20th-Century "believer," religion has often aped the reading and "assimilation" of ideas and phrases from marxist texts. A number of theologies have thus appeared, the so-called theologies of "revolution" and "liberation," evincing the effort to participate in the discussion of sociopolitical, demographic, and ecologic problems. This process has been accompanied by a number of the most modern means of revitalizing religious practices by use of the mass media and of other more attractive formulas for attracting the laity to the houses of the cults.

To a careful observer, the modernization, the religious modernism designed to "transfigure" the future of religious observance, has not been able to conceal the essentially obscurantist nature of religion. On the contrary, it has suddenly become even more striking along with the avatars of the new sectarian manifestations (which are to be observed now in all traditional religions): "people's temple," "the Lord's children," or "sons of the Lord," to give the most notorious and deplorable examples of these extremely harmful aspects of contemporary religious obscurantism. These cases are marked not just by preservation but by accentuation--often in forms more refined but not infrequently more brutal and thus more harmful--of the specific irrationality of religious beliefs. The essential incompatibility of authentically human norms of morality with the theses of religious morality, and in general the incompatibility of the scientific conception of the world and life with religious ideology, of revolutionary humanism with the distorted anachronistic view of contemporary man, are coming to the fore once again. The antihumanist nature of the religious theses regarding the evolution of contemporary society are revealed with increasing clarity.

The dialectical materialist philosophy, the world view, of the communist party, which is aware of the baneful effect of these formulas for "revitalization" of religion, gives unambiguous answers designed to reveal the true face of the new obscurantist counterfeits. The scientific materialist view of the world is obviously separated from the religious view by a sharply divisive, irreducible difference, in the form of postulation of the material nature of the world and of the possibility of transforming the world by

revolutionary means, through affirmation of man as the sole center of all material and spiritual activities of society, that is, by assertion of the socialist humanism and the militant atheism specific to the building of socialist society.

In this context, as follows from reading the studies contained in the Indrumar, it is proved once again that the efficiency of propaganda among young people must be based on the formation of solidly atheistic concepts having a substantial affective-volitional as well as cognitive motivation centering on the superior values of socialist culture and civilization. Just as necessary is the assimilation of technical and scientific knowledge in a wide variety of fields, with emphasis placed primarily on explanation of facts and phenomena which until yesterday represented the favorite grounds of religious discussions and "explanations" (speculations). There is need for increase in the educational efficiency of technical and scientific explanations through presentation in more varied and more stimulating forms, with a rich informational background capable of counteracting, and even outstripping, the religious "modernism" inventively cultivated by some of the church circles and some of the theologians to whom we have referred. The reason is--and this continues to be one of the fundamental theses of the primer of dialectical materialist propaganda--that many of the more "attractive" reformulations of contemporary religious modernism, far from being merely "pious" and innocent exercises and reflections, intrinsically more refined, of the world and life, are designed to be just as many practices with particularly harmful consequences.

Scientific materialist and atheistic education is a complex, lengthy process, and an integral part of the arsenal in the struggle against religious obscurantism and against survivals or upsurges of this obscurantism, is represented by the dialectical materialist concept of the world and life, improvement in vocational training and assimilation of the most advanced values which mankind has created, ethical civic and legal education of youth, knowledge and assimilation of the values and norms of socialist ethics and fairness, and their application in the daily activities of building socialist society in Romania. Also efficient are the various ways and means of involving the future builders of communism in cultural and artistic activities, imparting secular meanings to major events in their lives, permanent receptivity to the new, and especially consistent promotion of the idea and ideal of human perfectibility.

6115

CSO: 2700/207

## BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTY MINISTERS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Angela Voicila is appointed deputy minister of the electrical engineering industry and Comrade Eugen Radulescu is appointed deputy minister of the machinebuilding industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 47, 12 Jul 86 p 2] /9274

NEW ENVIRONMENTAL COUNCIL CHIEF--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Virgil Ianovici is relieved of his position as chairman of the National Council for the Protection of the Environment and Comrade Ioan Badea, chairman of the National Council for Water Management, is appointed chairman of the National Council for the Protection of the Environment. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 48, 18 Jul 86 p 2] /12232

CSO: 2700/265



## CHANGES IN OPERATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 86 pp 13-14

[Article by Dragan Bartolovic: "Constitutional Amendments and Changes in Practice"]

[Text] The fact that the political system of socialist self-management needs to be constantly researched, its practice and theoretical postulates analyzed, and constant improvements, additions, and changes be made within it so that it develops constantly "as a living organism" and "as an instrument for revolutionizing society in the direction of its transformation into a free association of producers"--has been strongly affirmed at the 13th LCY Congress and emphasized in its resolution. Not without reason, since after the public debate of the Critical Analysis...and the analysis itself party members have committed themselves to the necessary changes both in the SFRY Constitution and also in the Law on Associated Labor (ZUR) and in a number of other key laws (that is, the laws embodying the system). A demand was in fact issued at the congress for urgent implementation of the conclusions of the public discussion and Critical Analysis....

Two presidencies--the SFRY State Presidency and the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee--have had something to say about this topic (separately) in the last 2 weeks. The first was on 10 June, when the SFRY State Presidency, as one of the proponents authorized by the SFRY Constitution for amendments in the constitution, said that "the organized effort should be stepped up to prepare proposals for amendment of certain provisions of the SFRY Constitution so that they can be submitted to the SFRY Assembly in the fall for regular proceedings," and then came the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee (15 July), which "took up questions related to organizing the work on preparations of proposals for amendments of certain provisions of the SFRY Constitution" and deemed it necessary to undertake without delay concrete activities concerning those changes on the basis of the proposals contained in the Critical Analysis...and those arising out of the public discussion. Also, the party presidency especially emphasized that the constitutional amendments should be aimed at consistent implementation and completed construction of the production relations of self-management and the country's federal system.

Nor is it out of the way to state immediately that these presidencies, in part responding to the demands of the congress, are also insisting on a clear and

resolute political-ideological action, which incidentally has already begun, to strengthen the constructive changes in the behavior of all entities in society in the direction of greater work and effort, performance of what has been agreed and enforcement of legality, and a strengthening of personal and collective responsibility.

### Three Groups of Proposals

The Critical Analysis...offered 29 precise proposals for amendments and for supplementation of certain constitutional provisions. The public debate has contested two proposals (they have to do with establishment of SIZ's), but it also recorded 79 of its own, and it stressed the need for reassessment of the phrasing of the first and second parts of the principles. As for the principles, we should say at once that the debate formulated an interesting proposal which clearly states that in addition to the republics and provinces, the working class and nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, headed by the LCY, are also responsible for development of the country as a whole.

The proposals that came out of the public debate might provisionally be classified in three groups: those which are in the spirit of the proposals and demands of the Critical Analysis...itself, and then those which are demanding further study and a thorough scientific debate, and finally, those which are unacceptable, contradictory, or on the other hand contrary to the basic fundamental values of our society--they come from some other story, capitalist or socialist, but not ours! Fortunately, such proposals were also convincingly the fewest in the public debate. In a way this also says something about its quality and competence.

It will be interesting to follow the discussion of those in the second group: those which purport to elucidate more precisely such groups of issues as achievement of social ownership, development of the constitutional conception of the commune system, achievement of the constitutional concept of the republic, guaranteeing the influence of associated labor, in the SFRY Assembly above all, and then the question of the justifiability of the further existence of the presidencies of the republics and provinces, or again the sociopolitical chambers in the assemblies of opstinas, republics, or provinces, the number of necessary SIZ's, the number of social councils, their mutual relations and areas of competence, achieving fuller independence of the courts, etc.

### Something Is Already Being Implemented

Aside from the changes of the constitution, it should also be borne in mind that some of the initiatives and proposals arising out of the public debate will receive their full affirmation and realization in amendments of certain laws embodying the system, above all the Law on Associated Labor. Changes in the ZUR, as matters now stand, are supposed to relieve the pressure on the constitution. But to tell the truth not everything that was initiated in the public debate was also addressed to the right place. The initiatives were addressed to the constitution, but logic has it that the right address for those changes would be the laws embodying the system. Again, some of the proposals

have already been implemented in another way, by legislative regulation in the SFRY Assembly: that is the case, for instance, with the demand that the constitution include taxation of above-average income resulting from monopoly position, and this has just been done a few days ago with the new measures of SLV. Or again, prohibitions have been proposed to prevent excessive taxation of the economy, and this is already being done in another way.

It has been provided (still earlier in annual plans) that by the end of the year certain debatable issues will be debated within the federal social councils, above all the Federal Social Council for Problems of the Social System, for example: certain problems of the delegate system, above all the realization of the institution of the changeable delegate, and then the role, character, manner of election, and proceedings of the sociopolitical chambers, the place and role of the presidencies of the SR's and SAP's, achievement of the role and function of the social councils, conception of supplementation of the ZUR, the functioning of old-age and disability insurance, development of the commune system, etc.

### Interesting Proposals

The public debate emphasized or supplemented proposals made in the Critical Analysis...with views from different angles or posed in an original way a sizeable number of questions already being debated. It should also be pointed out that there were no questions rejected (except those few "from someone else's story"), all the proposals and initiatives will go into the debate with equal value. Without claiming to enter into the essence of these proposals for the subsequent debate, it seems opportune to us to point out some of those which are in our opinion the most interesting:

i. As for the republics and their constitutional status, the reference is above all to the constitutional status of SR Serbia and that part of it which is inappropriately referred to as "Serbia proper." However, there is a demand for an all-encompassing study of the constitutional status of the socialist republics, and here the initiatives go in the direction of reducing the statist tendencies and a strengthening of the socialized function of the republic as a sociopolitical community as well as of its economic functions.

ii. An essential factor in the functioning of the system is the improvement of social planning. Thus instead of the system of social planning merely having its present "uniform foundations," the Serbian Republic Conference of the SAWP, the Federal Social Council for Economic Development and Economic Policy, and the Federal Conference of the SAWPY have proposed a "uniform system" of social planning for the entire country so as to eliminate the cause-and-effect relationship in the method of planning we have had up to now, with its disintegrative processes in society.

iii. All of five republic conferences of the SAWP (Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia) and the Vojvodina Provincial Conference of the SAWPY, the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, and the Federal Legal Council, and Federal Economics Council have insisted that the constitution guarantee social and economically expedient use of social

resources, their constant renewal and augmentation, and conscientious performance of work duties. In other words, they are calling for amendment of Article 15 in the sense of spelling out the constitutional OBLIGATIONS of the workers.

#### Against Consensus in Associated Labor

iv. That "package" also contains a proposal of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia that in the section of the constitution which regulates the pooling of labor and capital there be guarantees of the safety of the investor, that is, that he be guaranteed repayment of his resources in their real value, and there is a demand to make it possible for him to exert influence (as though this would not have been the normal thing!?) on the execution of a project which is being jointly financed.

v. Demands have been expressed for stating more precisely many things related to OOUR's and RO's, to mutual relations and relations between OOUR's and the work organization, and then there has also been insistence on the optimum and efficient functioning of large engineering and technological entities.

vi. One of the demands also has to do with amending Article 100 of the SFRY Constitution, whose provisions in a way brought consensus into associated labor, so it is said, which is contrary to the character of associated labor and to the relations of social ownership. There is a demand to do away with consensus in delegate decisionmaking in the workers' council of the RO, SOUR, etc.

vii. The proposal concerning elaboration of the constitutional concept of the local community runs like this: that the local community be defined as a community of labor, that is, as an integral part of associated labor, which would be the point of departure for more appropriate legal definition in the direction of stronger integration between the local community and organizations of associated labor.

viii. How are chambers of associated labor to be strengthened in opstina assemblies? The tendencies for associated labor and all social activities to be enclosed within opstina borders, thereby making it possible for the opstina to grow and develop as a center of bureaucratic alienation, have to be halted.

ix. Another interesting question is how to enhance the authority of self-management accords and social compacts. While some people propose "sanctions under the constitution," others think that broader powers should be given to the Social Accounting Service, so that the SDK could force participants in accords or compacts to meet their obligations if they are delinquent or do not perform them at all.

#### How To Achieve Direct and Individual Elections

x. There has also been a demand to alter the manner of election of delegates to assembly chambers--there is a proposal for direct election of delegates and holders of certain public and social offices from the opstina to the

Federation. The proponents are the following: the republic conferences of the SAWP of Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Croatia, the SFRY Assembly, and the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia.

xi. There are many proposals which are for strengthening legality. Thus the SFRY Assembly and the basic organization of the League of Communists of federal bodies and agencies have proposed that in cases when a collision occurs between federal and republic or provincial laws the federal law should prevail until a decision is made by the Constitutional Court. There is a demand for amendments to Article 244 of the constitution to make it possible for federal bodies and agencies to regulate in their own enactments issues and relations on which the republics and provinces have been unable to agree. In general the demand is to establish mechanisms which will guarantee more effective enforcement of federal laws as well as performance of executive and administrative functions and the enforcement of decisions and regulations.

xii. There has been a demand for reassessment of the powers of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly and also for a change of the electoral procedure in election of delegates to the Federal Chamber: the SFRY Assembly, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Conference of the SAWP, and the committee of basic organizations of the LC in federal bodies and agencies have proposed that election through delegate slates be replaced by individual election. There is also a demand to make the office of delegate incompatible with the holding of other offices and for the proceedings of a delegate's recall to be simplified.

xiii. Certainly there will also be interesting debate on how to reduce or do away with consensus and which questions are to be involved.

xiv. And last, but certainly not least in importance, we have the question that has created the most controversy with the public--for or against the Chamber of Associated Labor in the SFRY Assembly. There has, of course, been no decision, nor any very straightforward proposal. If the previous "general divisions" into reformers and defenders of the constitution have been overcome once and for all, that cannot be said of the divisions relevant at the moment between those who are for or against that chamber of associated labor. The views of individuals and indeed of certain organizations or institutions are still firm and entrenched. However, the actual formulation is still altogether open: there should be an integral examination of the way of guaranteeing greater influence of associated labor in the Federation and especially in the SFRY Assembly.

Incidentally, that is almost exactly what the 13th LCY Congress came out for.

7045

CSO: 2800/335

## TREE-CLIMBING HARANGUER SEIZED BY POLICE

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 86 p 9

[Commentary by M. Petrovic: "The Man in the Tree"]

[Text] Only the following is known:

While Vidoje Zarkovic was reading his speech to the delegates, television cameramen, and history on the first day of the 13th LCY Congress, an elderly unidentified male was addressing passersby from a tree concerning the "4-year revolution and the 40-year counterrevolution," "social differences on such a scale that some people cannot even buy a notebook for a child, while others..."; and everything that goes along with that kind of talk. More than half an hour passed before a group of policemen (obviously untrained for such situations) called upon him to descend in the name of the law and before the firemen arrived. Afterward, the crowd of 3,000 to 5,000 people booed the men in uniform.

And that is all.

Although no newspaper has published this information, the fact is indisputable: the new Yugoslavia has its first demonstrator in a tree.

Maybe future generations will climb on a tree every 25 June instead of going on traditional May Day excursions. Maybe a bronze plaque on Terazije square will read "On this spot the first demonstration against the socialist government occurred" opposite the plaque denoting the location of the first cinema (what a coincidence!). Who knows? This folk, while known for its ungrateful attitude toward its history, is sometimes capable of paying a debt in the right way.

At this moment, however, our attitude could be better described as melancholy. Instead of a square entering history, we move into the next era of political life in a tree. Nor do we know the name of the first Yugoslav demonstrator, or at least we will not know it until he is released from the psychiatric clinic.

Domanovia [classic satirist], where are you?

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END